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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MILITARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RECOMMENDED; SCHOOLS LISTED

Prague OBRANA LIDU in Czech 26 Nov 83 p 3

[Article: "Chance for Boys and Girls--Postcard from Moravska Trebova"]

[Text] A gate entrance leads to the Military Gymnasium of Jan Zizka in Moravska Trebova. During the past more than 30 years, hundreds of candidates of the military profession have been trained here. The headquarters has a record of names, ranks and positions of former graduates. They are now predominantly commanders and staff officers in our army. They embody the living tradition and current accomplishments of this very young school, even though it has 30 years behind it. We say young because it is really children who come here, while in 4 years the school says good-bye to people who are ready to begin highly responsible studies at higher military schools.

At headquarters we pose a question which is often also asked by the public: "What is the role of the gymnasium in the structure of our military education?"

"Our school," reply the officials, "affords the students who come to us from the 8th and 9th grades a full secondary education of the natural sciences orientation."

"Will the school accept all those who apply?" The question is direct, as is the reply, supplemented by a comment to the point. From the time of the entrance examinations, it is assumed that, following the final matriculation examination, graduates will continue their studies at one of the higher military schools. This would usually be the Higher Military School for Ground Forces in Vyskov, or the Higher Military Technical School in Liptovsky Mikulas.

Many subjects in the military gymnasium correspond to the instruction program in civilian schools. In addition, however, the students acquire certain elements of military knowledge, while physical fitness is also emphasized. "We prepare the students for a professional military career."

Four Years is 1460 Days

This, of course, is a long time and takes 4 years in the gymnasium alone, 1460 days of a young life in the military, after which there are all the others. The 1460 days, however, are the most important for the formation of a personality, the years of maturing.

The training schedule puts an imprint of a special character on each day, reveille, morning calisthenics, cleaning up and breakfast. Then there are morning classes, followed by lunch and 2 hours of free time. Even a young brain needs rest. This is followed by one of the special features of military schools, namely, an organized independent study period. The student often call it "self-study," yet it is not quite that. Whenever one of the young enthusiasts experiences difficulties, there is an instructor ready to provide counsel. Nevertheless, the students prefer independence and are proud of it. The collective leaves no one in a lurch. It is often enough for the instructor to make an off-hand helpful remark and everything is in order again.

What are the activities outside of regular classes and self-study periods? This is an important question which is appropriate with respect to this type of school.

Well, there are many. The school invites professional artistic ensembles to perform for the students; however, they also have their own music groups, a theater circle, they organize dances which sometimes evoke jealousy on the part of Moravska Trebova girls when young ladies from Svitavy are invited. The students travel to theaters, attend cultural and social events in town and surroundings. There is much reading, sports play an important role, there is tourism and firing of small arms on the range. In all this, the youth union organizations have an important place in their unquestioned influence on both academic and extracurricular activities. Nothing is left to chance, everything is real, and this provides the first stage in steeling the young characters.

Sounds like a veritable idyll? Certainly not, let us not succumb to this impression. It is a life of many joys and worries, of first loves and secretly composed verses for the one and only. It is the life of military youth in a secondary school.

Where are such schools located and what lies behind the three words--military secondary school?

Basic Information

Military gymnasia: Moravska Trebova, Prague, Opava, Banska Bystrica. These are 4-year schools with the following subjects: Native language, Russian, mathematics, physics, civics, history, geography, descriptive geometry, chemistry, biology, creative arts and musical education, physical education and military training. In addition, the students have the choice of either German or English.

Specialized Military Secondary Schools

Martin: Command and technical operations of artillery, engineer and quartermaster troops;

Liptovsky Mikulas: Communications and radio-electronic equipment;

Nitra: Technical operations of tank and motorized services;

Zilina: Economics, logistics, supply, fuels, equipment, security, organizational and logistical support of military units, chemical technology, health care;

Nove Mesto nad Vahom: Economics and logistics;

Valasske Mezirici: Railroad and transportation construction;

Presov: Technical airplane, helicopter and motor operations, special communications and armament of airplanes, airfield technology and operations, air force radiotechnology;

Roudnice nad Labem: Military music.

All military secondary schools are of 4-year duration. Besides specialized military subjects, students in these schools also study subjects of a general educational and sociological nature, plus military preparation.

Schools for Secondary School Graduates:

One-Year Officers Schools

Martin: Artillery;

Presov: Air command.

One-Year Courses for Girls:

The Czechoslovak Peoples Army offers the following specialized training to matriculation graduates in the 18-20 age bracket:

Kosice: Air force ground specialists;

Prague: Radiotechnical troops operators and communications specialists in the state anti-air defenses;

Nove Mesto nad Vahom: Communications and administrative specialists.

Questions and Answers

Opening of studies: Instruction in the military gymnasia and military secondary schools always begins 1 September. The same applies to the 1-year courses for girls.

Graduates of military gymnasia: It is assumed that, following matriculation, most of these will continue their studies at the higher military schools in Vyskov or Liptovsky Martin. The first year of the higher military schools begins on 1 August, the following years on 1 September. During the first 5 months, the candidates perform regular reserve military service. They are then accepted as regular army personnel with the rank of warrant officer. After graduation from the higher military school, they are given the rank of lieutenant and the title of engineer.

Graduates of military secondary schools: the 4-year instruction period also culminates with the matriculation examination, plus special military testing. It is anticipated that graduates will be assigned to units as members of the sergeant-major corps and work primarily as technical specialists. During the last 5 months of the school, the students perform military reserve duties and leave with the rank of warrant officer.

Girls in the army, women's fashions and military rank: During the 12 months of the course, the students have the status of basic service soldiers with all the benefits. Their uniforms, however, are made to measure and they get allowances for hairdressing and feminine accessories. Following final examinations, graduates have the choice of signing up for 3 years of service or becoming professional soldiers, in which case they graduate with the rank of warrant officer.

Students at the 1-year officers schools--age and basic service: Those who are not over 24 when they enter the school. They perform basic military duty during the course but not afterward. Following final examinations, they become regular army in the rank of second lieutenant. Graduates who are judged capable of higher positions are accorded higher-school education.

Material and Financial Guarantees: Students at the military gymnasia and military secondary schools are fully in the care of the army. They get free meals and housing, while outfitting and school necessities are also free. In addition, they receive 50 Kcs monthly as pocket money which, starting with the second year, is raised to 75 Kcs for excellent students. During the entire instruction period, parents receive an educational allowance and deduction on their income tax.

Leaves and free time: In both types of military secondary schools, 10 days leave is granted for Christmas, 7 days in March and 6 weeks in the summer. There is a reduced travel fare during this period and students are authorized to wear civilian clothes.

Girls in the 12-months courses are given 10 days for Chirstmas, 7 days in the spring and 30 days at the completion of the course.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW CLASS OF SUPPLY SHIPS FOR NAVY DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 26 No 11, Nov 83 pp 616-619

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "Supply Ships for GDR People's Navy; New Class of 'Combat Supplier' in Production"]

[Text] Auxiliary vessels in the GDR "People's Navy" are considered part of the rearward services. It is their task--as it can be looked up in the book "People's Navy on Watch," which appeared in the GDR Militaerverlag in 1979--"to safeguard the actions of the combat and security forces of the People's Navy at sea." Tugs, tankers, supply ships, firefighting boats, recovery vessels, torpedo catching vessels and workshop ships are counted among the auxiliary vessels. They are distinguished from the "combat and security forces" by the fact that they fly the (blue) "auxiliary vessel ensign." Normally their crews are made up of "civilians of the NVA [National People's Army]," almost all of whom are "long-service reservists with good military knowledge."

The supply ships occupy a special place, and this is a collective concept in the GDR navy, not a special designation as in the Western navies. In the GDR navy supply ships include tankers and general cargo carriers, regardless of whether they have to perform their tasks at sea or as stationary vessels at bases. The oldest of them have now completed more than 20 years service and belong to a type that was built in the early 1960s, on the basis of the plans of the "List" type lubricating oil tanker of the former German navy *. These are three units of the socalled AOL [Armaments, Petroleum and Lubricants] 600 class, the "Riems," "Poel" and "Hiddensee" [or "Hildensee"]. These ships of 1000/1450 tons displacement have a length of 59.44ms, are 9.42 ms wide and draw 4.5 ms. Their twin-shaft engine installations produce 1340 Kw (1400 hp) and give them a maximum speed of 12 knots. The diesel fuel supply carried on board for its own consumption amounts to 30 tons and is sufficient for a trip of 1100 sea miles at maximum speed. Each ship can take on 650 tons of liquid cargo and transfer it to other ships. Armaments are intended only for crises and consist of two 37-mm antiaircraft twin-barrell L/63s; they are only on board occasionally for exercises and are at other times kept in arsenals on bases. A TSR-333 is used for navigation.

* Originally it had been suspected that these ships came from captured or repaired remnants of the former German navy. This was shown to be a mistake only relatively recently.

These ships are not able to carry out at-sea provisioning of other units; they lack the necessary equipment. Instead, they are used as feeder tankers which supply other units with fuel at bases, in the roads or close to their own coast, when both of them stop and tie up next to each other (more rarely one behind the other).

The supply ship "Usedom" performs the same role, a ship of the Soviet "Baskunchak" class, built between 1964 and 1966 in Kamysh-Burun at Kerch and integrated into the GDR navy in 1966. With dimensions of 83.6 X 12 X 4.6 ms, it displaces 2940 tons fully laden. It comes from a civilian series of coastal motor tank ships, 1754 gross tons and 539 net tons, with a capacity of 1660 tons. Propulsion is by a single-shaft engine, producing 1635 kW (2200 hp) for a speed of 13.2 knots. Its fuel supply of 124 tons is enough for a voyage of 5000 sea miles at a speed of 12.6 knots. This ship is able to transport four different fluids simultaneously, a total of 1490 tons. It is unarmed, and so far no installations have been observed that indicate plans for installation on a mobilization basis, but this possibility cannot be excluded. A DON-2 radar installation is used for navigation.

The remainder of the supply ships, without exception, belong to the category of "Kuemo" = coastal motor vessel, partly in tanker and partly in freighter configuration. NATO has appropriate designations to take account of this: the tanker version is listed as "Kuemo-Mod," the freighter version as "Kuemo," regardless of their difference in size and appearance. Basically, the freighter can be recognized by the presence of one or two on-board cranes, while they are not present on the tanker version. The freighter version includes the "Timmendorf," built as a bulk and general cargo freighter and taken into the People's Navy in 1963, where it still appears to be making voyages today. According to GDR sources, this ship has been used repeatedly for other tasks, for example, recovery practice mines and as a floating repair base during exercises. The "Timmendorf" is the only ship of its kind to have two on-board cranes, arranged in tandem. Technical data are: displacement 763 tons, dimensions 47.95 X 8.40 X 2.70 ms, capacity 450 tons, single-shaft propulsion with 220 kW (300 hp) for a speed of 9 knots.

Two other similar ships, E 18 (ex "Ruden"?) and E 44 (ex "Freundschaft"), closely resemble the "Timmendorf" externally, but with a displacement of 535 tons and dimensions of 39.9 X 7.5 X 2.5 ms they are clearly smaller and even slower, with a speed of 7 knots. Occasionally these units carry (defensive) weapons, in spite of their very small size, in the form of a 14.5-mm anti-aircraft twin machine gun, which is located aft. These ships are part of a series of dry lighters, built by the Ernst-Thaelmann yard in Brandenburg in 1963, which are registered as 266 gross tons, with a capacity of 351 tons.

The fuel supply ship C 41 (ex C 21?) is very similar and of the same size and characteristics, built in 1956 by the same yard as a tank lighter. It is 118 gross tons, and its capacity is listed at 339 tons.

The "Vilm" is from the same period. Apparently it is derived from a series of tank luggers built by the Matthias-Thesen yard in Wismar, listed in GDR

professional publications as having a displacement of 593 tons, dimensions of 43.09 X 7.30 X 3.35 ms and a tank capacity of something over 300 m³.

Both the "Vilm" and unit C 41 serve as harbor and roads tank ships. The five oil tenders of the "Gustav Koenig" type with the alphanumeric designations C 17, C 25, C 76, C 77 and C 16 are expressly intended as harbor tankers. This type, which was developed for river navigation, meets the "Gross-Plauer" dimension and has a standard size of 67 ms length, 8.2 ms beam and 2 ms draught. These vessels are not encountered at sea, they are distributed among the individual bases and are spending their lives there as stationary tankers.

With this shipping material the People's Navy has only been able to meet about half of its logistic needs up to this time, and this could well have been the reason that in the second half of the 1970s some movement took place to the extent that modern new construction was undertaken.

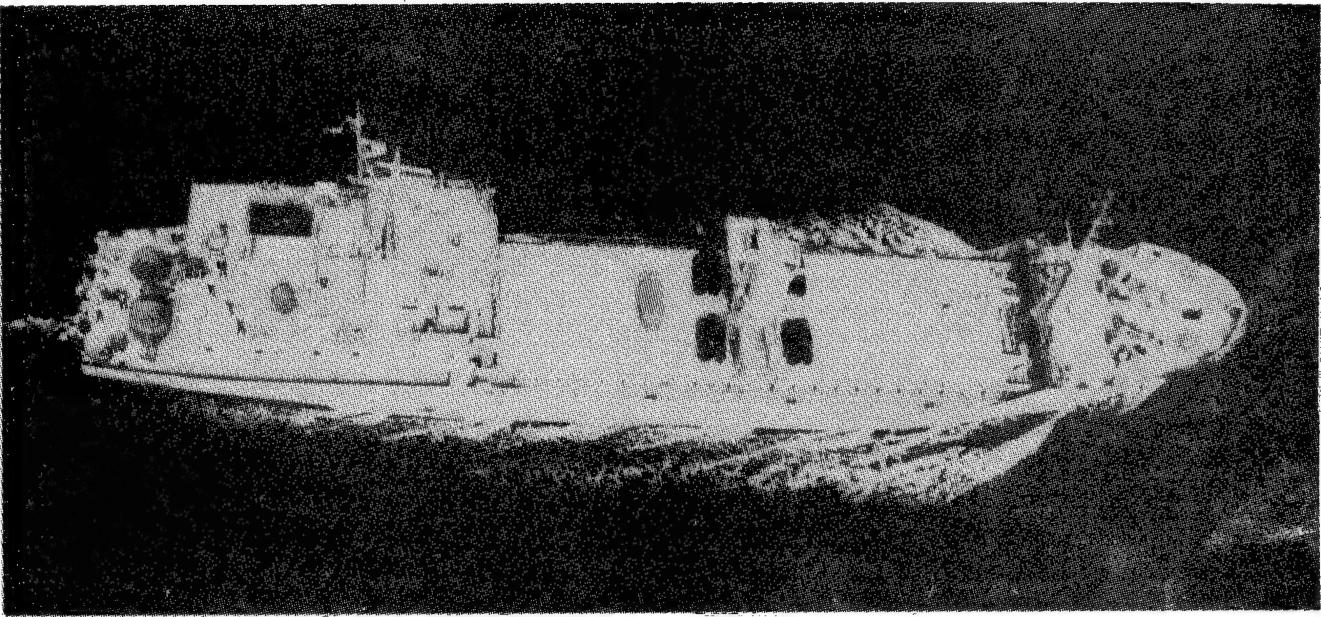
The first of these new types of construction is represented by the "Frosch-II" class, two socalled "combat suppliers" derived from the landing ships of the "Frosch-I" class, which were given the names "Nordperd" (E 35) and "Suedperd" (E 36). These ships retained the folding bow landing ramp, so that it is possible for them "to supply troops with the help . . . of ground transportation equipment along suitable stretches of the coast"--in the words of a brief report in issue 2/83 of the GDR army publication DIE VOLKSARMEE. It is clear from this report that both ships really belong in the category of amphibious forces: as a type they have the characteristics of those units which are designated in the U.S. navy as LKA = Amphibious Cargo Ships, and in German are called combat suppliers for short. The development and construction of this type of unit had become necessary because it had been shown repeatedly that it is impossible to discharge a truly adequate amount of combat supplies along with the first landing wave. Combat freighters are needed for this, which are capable of bringing up such large quantities of supplies --primarily munitions for tanks, field artillery and hand-held weapons and fuel for tracked and wheeled vehicles--that an attack from the beachhead is not forced to bog down because of a lack of ammunition and fuel. Tasks of this kind may be intended for this "Frosch-II" class, which, naturally, with its maximum load capacity of 650 tons, cannot compete with the Amphibious Cargo Ships of the U.S. navy, which are able to carry several times as much. Measured against them, the "Frosch-II" class is more the representative of a miniversion of this type. It must also be taken into consideration that it is designed for use in a predetermined, restricted area in the north and not for action worldwide, which is the case with the U.S. units. Although primarily this amphibious role seems to have been assigned to them, these two units could sail in times of peace as dry-freight suppliers, perhaps as a kind of "floating retail store," which maintains a relatively broad range of supply articles for distribution. Cargo space for this purpose is most probably available in sufficiently large volume. The fore part of the cargo hold area is accessible through the bow ramp and through a hatch whose dimensions are approximately 13 X 3.5 ms. In the aft section, which is directly connected, there is an approximately 6-meter wide ramp, inclined towards the stern and with four parallel tracks; these are primarily for the use of forklift vehicles, with which the cargo is transferred to the upper deck, where it is then transferred to the ship being supplied with the 5-ton cranes.

Ships of the "Frosch-II" class displace 2000 tons when ready for action and are 98 ms long, 12.8 m beam and draw 2.8 ms. They are equipped with two Soviet M 40 D engines, producing 3700 Kw (5000 hp) together, which is transmitted through two propeller shafts. Their principal armament is identical with that of the "Frosch-I" class: two 57-mm ZIF-72 twin antiaircraft guns, each one mounted at the end positions of the superstructure deck. Instead of the twin 30-mm antiaircraft guns used on the "Frosch-I" landing ships, they were given only two 25-mm twin guns in the familiar standard model, and they are positioned foreward on the forecastle. The absence of MBRL-122-mm rocket launchers on these ships may be an additional indication that they are most likely not intended for use in combat landing operations. Common to both versions--both "Frosch-I" and "Frosch-II"--are the pieces of equipment that enable them to function as minelayers. Their electronic equipment is limited to a Strut Curve omnidirectional sea search radar, TSR-333 navigational radar and an IFF system [Identification Friend or Foe], consisting of a Square Head interrogation and a High Pole-B response antenna.

This year production of a new type is beginning, which is being described in the GDR military media as a deep-sea combat supplier. The differing type nomenclature for the "Frosch-II" class on the one hand and for the new class on the other hand seems to make it clearer that the former ("combat suppliers") are being assigned to the amphibious type of ship, while the latter ("deep-sea combat suppliers") is considered a "real" supply vessel. The class ship "Darss,"--again according to GDR press reports--was launched on 27 February 1982; this means that construction must have started in the summer or fall of 1981. The ship was built in the VEB Peenewerft Volgast, which has been in existence since 1948 and is used almost exclusively for the construction of GDR warships and is secondarily kept busy with the construction of a few specialized ships for the civilian field--for example, large bucket dredgers for the Soviet Union.

The "Darss" (alphanumeric designation E 41) has the lines of a modern freighter and looks like a forecastle freighter with the engine located aft. Two holds are positioned midships, which can be closed by what appear to be hydraulically foldable hatch covers. The hatch openings are both about 14 to 15 ms long and 8 ms wide. Between the two hatch openings is a fully rotating on-board crane with an arm fully 15 ms long. At maximum reach it can cover about a 10-meter sector on both sides of the ship. Its lifting power is estimated at between 5 and 10 tons. There are no loading posts with delivery stations for side-to-side provisioning. It may be concluded from this that the "Darss" was not originally designed for "Underway Replenishment" maneuvers--the transfer of supplies and fuel parallel from ship to ship while under way. On the contrary, there are external indications that it can perform its supply tasks only while stopped and the units to be supplied come alongside and tie up. One of these indications is the numerous reinforcing ribs running diagonally on both sides of the ship's hull, which is subject to higher stress forces from bumping and rubbing when other units tie up alongside.

These ribs are intended to lend additional stiffening to the external skin and increase its rigidity. An additional characteristic is the presence of



Deep sea combat supplier "Darss," as seen by an aerial observer. The large cargo hatch covers are prominent.

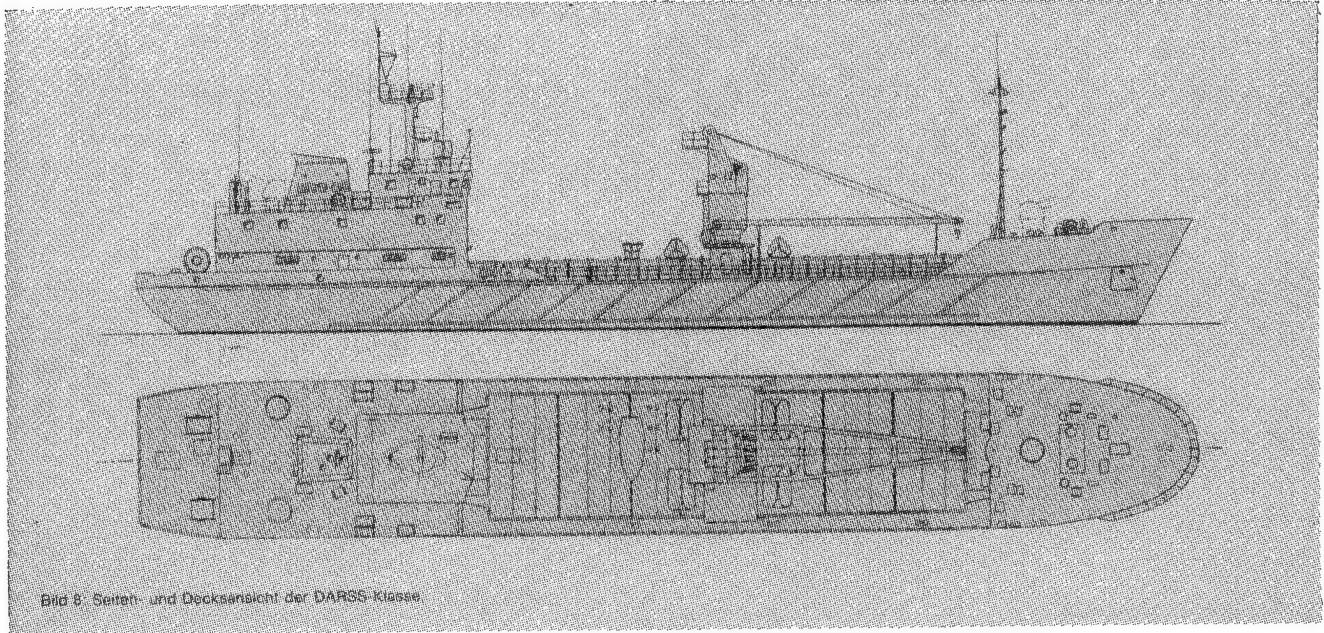


Bild 8: Seiten- und Deckansicht der DARSS-Klasse.

Side and deck view of the "Darss" class.

12 large fenders; they are lashed down ready on the hatch covers in groups of three. Their function is to keep off ships that have come alongside and to prevent damage. Provisioning--primarily with solid cargo--takes place apparently by means of the on-board crane transferring from side to side, while POL [Petroleum, Oils and Lubricants] takes place over the stern, which is indicated by the large rolls of hoses that can be seen there.

The "Darss" has single-shaft propulsion; engine power is probably about 1200 to 1500 kW (1600 to 2000 hp), speed between 12 and 15 knots. Length overall of this ship, which displaces about 1200 tons, is 68.5 ms, beam is 10 ms, and the draught can be estimated at about 3.5 ms. A graphic estimate shows the waterline to be about 62 ms; using a constant beam (10 ms), the length/breadth (L/B) ratio can be established at about 6.2, a value that is well within the framework for ships of this category.

Cargo capacity is estimated to be about 650 tons dry cargo and about 200 tons POL materials.* The "Darss" has only carried armaments--which can only be for self-defense--during its sea trials. They consisted of three standard L/70 25-mm twin antiaircraft guns; one of them was positioned on the forecastle, the two others on both sides behind the funnel. Since then the weapons have been removed, only the mounting rings are still recognizable on the deck. Electronic equipments includes a navigational radar system that is probably part of the TSR system.

It is certain that additional ships are under construction or will be built. It is conceivable that there will be a version which can carry more fuel and less solid cargo. The need certainly exists. For the time being, the intent seems to be to stay with the "Darss" version, because in July a second new version turned up in the Baltic. Its name: "Wittow," alphanumeric designation: E 61.

* POL = Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INNOVATORS EXHORTED TO INCREASE EFFORT, PRODUCTIVITY

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 38 No 22, Nov 83 (signed to press 10 Nov 83)
pp 857-859

/Editorial article: "Socialist Rationalization--Main Field for Innovators' Creative Activity: Commentary on the SED CC Secretariat's Resolution on the Status and Achievements of the Innovators' Movement and Conclusions About Further Development"/

/Text/ In the course of 1 year some 1.9 million working people--65 percent of them production workers--in our country act as innovators. They provide a significant contribution in the socialist competition to the implementation of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions on the successful further pursuit of the policy of the party and the working class and the socialist state, directed to the welfare of the people, the consolidation of socialism and the preservation of peace. The innovator movement is doing well as a concrete example of working class exercise of power, of comradely collaboration between the working class and the intelligentsia and of the creative involvement of the working people in the management and planning of the national economy. It develops best wherever party organizations emphatically insist on innovators directing their creative efforts to the ongoing intensification of production, the definitely better cost/profit ratio and, therefore, the greatest possible rise in economic capacity.

Rising Social Profit

Innovators have interpreted as a challenge to their initiative and creativity the greater demands on the national economy proposed at the plenums of the SED CC and, in particular, by Comrade Erich Honecker in his speech to the first secretaries of kreis leadership organizations.

In 1982 innovator efforts achieved a social profit amounting to more than M5 billion; 48 percent of that total were earned on the basis of planned collective innovator activities. Innovators have contributed to the satisfaction of the qualitative factors of economic growth by increasing their efficiency. Savings of prime costs by innovator efforts in the spheres of the industrial ministries, construction and transportation amounted to roughly M2.4 billion. More than half of this was accounted for by materials conservation. Labor time savings by innovator achievements corresponded to the labor capacity of 50,000. Innovators were increasingly involved in key tasks of socialist rationalization, materials and energy management as well as imports replacement. Far more innovator contributions were directed to the diminution of heavy manual or hazardous work.

The CC Secretariat resolution of 19 October 1983 appraises the satisfactory overall results of innovator activism and the increased readiness for service of the working people as due mainly to persuasive politico-ideological efforts by state managers, labor unions, FDK and KDT [chamber of technology], guided by the party organizations. More purposeful management and planning, improved information and the assignment of concrete key targets provided more favorable conditions for creative work.

Among the combines and enterprises that have distinguished themselves in these efforts for many years are the Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld Combine, the Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works, the Eisenhuettenstadt Hermann Matern Steel Strip Combine, the Berlin Wilhelm Pieck Upper Spree Cable Works, the Berlin Electrocoal VEB and the Guben Wilhelm Pieck Synthetic Fiber Works.

The secretariat's resolution draws attention to the fact that the contributions of combines and enterprises to the results achieved in past year vary widely, and that there are many substantial differences in standards and performance. Directed by the party organizations, economy managing organs, the Office for Inventions and Patents, ministers, general directors and enterprise managers together with the respective labor union executive boards and managements, the FDJ and the KDT as well as the district innovator centers intensified their efforts so as to achieve an upsurge of the innovator movement in all combines and enterprises.

Proven effective methods are the work with long-range conceptions on the management and planning of the innovator movement, intensification, rationalization and innovator conferences, innovator fairs and also the movement "fair of the masters of tomorrow" (MMM). Also shown to be useful were the "innovator weeks" organized by the labor unions and the mass check on the development of the innovator movement. The best workers' and innovator conferences arranged by the SED district managements as well as performance comparisons also effectively contribute to the generalization of satisfactory experiences.

Progressive economic results were accomplished by enterprises where party organizations strictly enforced the assignment of such orientation indices as respond to the necessary growth in output. These party organizations resolutely combated the view that the opportunities for innovators were bound to decline with the advancing intensification and automation of production, the deployment of microelectronics and robots. The fallacy of this argument is demonstrated especially whenever basic organizations assist the state managers in the inclusion of innovators--particularly women and youths--in the very preparation of innovator tasks, for instance the analysis of production processes. Such basic organizations do not allow innovators themselves to seek out their tasks or objectives from the plan science and technology to be transformed into innovator assignments, although they are really among the duties of research and development personnel. Nor do they permit suggestions by working people to be considered innovator proposals if they merely amount to criticism of deficiencies, not a proper innovation as prescribed by law.

Even Greater Contribution Needed

As the result of zealous work, considerably higher rates of growth were achieved for all important headings in the first half 1983 by comparison with preceding years.

Compared with the first half 1982, the economic profit arising from innovator performances rose by 7.4 percent, in the sphere of the Ministry for Construction of General Machinery, Agricultural Machinery and Vehicles by 17.4 percent.

A definite rise in labor time savings was achieved for the first time in many years (5.7 percent).

Participation rose by 4.2 percent, that of production workers by 5.4 percent and that of young people by 7.6 percent.

At 24.6 percent, the economic profit arising from the subsequent utilization of innovator solutions scored its greatest rate of increase yet.

Starting from the challenging criteria resulting from the continuing successful pursuit of the main task in the situation of exacerbated international class conflict, the CC Secretariat's resolution provides the following basic orientation:

Effective politico-ideological efforts and energetic political direction must ensure that the innovator movement provides an even greater contribution to the intensification of production and, consequently, the improvement of the national economy's capacity. It is imperative, in particular

-- To encourage the readiness to serve, the knowledge and abilities of the working people for the speed-up of scientific-technological progress and a higher degree of economic efficacy;

-- Permanently to raise the scientific-technological standard of assignments for innovators and the challenges to innovator services;

-- In all respects to assist the MMM as a mass movement to encourage the scientific-technological innovator spirit of youth;

The following tasks arise therefrom for leadership efforts, and party organizations must more effectively affect them:

1. As a solid element of the socialist competition organized by the labor unions, the innovator movement must be even more resolutely directed to the implementation of the economic strategy of the 1980's. From the aspect of intensively expanded reproduction, socialist rationalization needs to be considered the main field of activity for innovators.

Innovators must be oriented even more consistently to the reduction of costs, especially production consumption, to effective materials and energy conservation, rising product quality, labor time and manpower savings, the replacement of imports and the greatest possible profits. At the same time they must be even more involved in the preparation and application of advanced technologies and processes, such as microelectronics and industrial robots. Innovator efforts for greater emphasis on the economic effects of socialist rationalization must even more effectively help the improvement of the working people's working conditions.

2. The satisfactory experiences recorded in the work with standardized management conceptions on the long-range management and planning of the innovator movement, drafted and implemented by ministers, general directors, enterprise managements jointly with the respective labor union leadership organizations, the FDJ and the KDT, and directed by the party organizations, must be transmitted to all potentially interested ministries, combines, enterprises and facilities as well as to state farms. Analytical work in the field of innovator activity must be improved.

Regarding the further development of the innovator movement, the Office for Inventions and Patents in close cooperation with the FDGB concentrates on the improvement of state management and planning of innovator activities. It assists the ministers to carry out their responsibilities in this matter.

3. In consideration of the challenging economic and concrete targets of combines and enterprises, the scientific-technological standard of innovator targets must be raised. More than hitherto must intensification and rationalization conceptions be the starting points for the various assignments. The planning of innovator objectives must be further improved. Innovators and labor union innovator activist groups must be enlisted to a greater extent for collaboration in planning.

The comprehensive information of the working people about key issues for innovator efforts must be ensured, especially at the stage of plan discussion, by the assignment of concrete objectives. Effective backing in the assumption and implementation of challenging goals by the innovator movement must be given the work collectives, especially those competing for the distinguished title "collective of socialist labor," the youth brigades and youth research collectives in the assumption and implementation of challenging targets. Every possible help is to be given women so as to create the proper conditions for their even more active innovator involvement.

4. The planned collective innovator efforts must be oriented even more to challenging economic and social effects. The conclusion of innovator agreements must persuade the working people consciously to apply their abilities and skills over and above their job assignments and at the proper times make available innovations for planned innovation processes. A large proportion of production workers must be guaranteed in the innovator collectives. The prerequisites for the prompt utilization of innovations must be created by measures of material-technical guarantees and the expansion of the capacities of enterprise construction of rationalization aids.

5. Even greater attention must be devoted to the extensive and rapid utilization of innovations. Labor unions and their innovator activist groups should even more resolutely check the rapid and unbureaucratic processing and implementation of innovator suggestions. To be further improved is the work of the offices for innovator affairs in combines and enterprises. The KDT should reinforce its influence on the further deepening of the creative cooperation between workers and the intelligentsia in the utilization of advanced scientific-technological findings in order to accomplish the tasks of socialist rationalization and, by its eighth congress, provide the appropriate orientation to KDT enterprise sections.

6. To disseminate the experiences of the best, performance comparisons are to be increasingly and purposefully used in the innovator movement as methods of the

political management of economic processes. They must be carried out in the full responsibility of the respective managers jointly with the labor unions, the FDJ and the KDT. It is especially important to transfer experiences of progressive centrally managed combines to the locally managed combines, small and medium size enterprises. District innovator centers will have to make an effective contribution to these efforts. Together with other measures, performance comparisons must be used to achieve better economic results by the subsequent utilization of suitable innovations. Reliable innovators should even more purposefully convey their experiences to the members of the MMM movement.

7. The legal provisions on innovator activities, issued after the Eighth SED Congress and tested in practice, including social and material distinction, must be applied consistently.

It is imperative further to deepen the legal knowledge of state managers and labor union functionaries, the FDJ and KDT.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST LITERATURE SAID TO LACK COMPETENT CRITICISM

East Berlin SINN UND FORM in German Vol 35 No 6, Nov-Dec 83 pp 1324-1332

[Reprinted speech by Dr Annamarie Auer, literary essayist, given at the Martin Luther University in Halle, date not specified: "From the Critic's Work"]

[Text] The work of a critic, ladies and gentlemen, is a quiet and solitary one. It does not become a matter of public notice until it is written down and only rarely comes in direct touch with its public. I want to thank you for turning your attention to this oft-maligned occupation which the literary trade tends to regard as superfluous. I am very pleased about this.

Prior to coming here, I asked some author friends of mine: "Has criticism ever been of any use to you?" Every one of them roundly said: "No, never!" The more advanced ones among them—those who are therefore more self-assured—even went so far as to say: "I never even look at the reviews of my books any more." It is their goal to reach the target group of their poetic endeavors—their public—and to learn as much from it as possible through direct contact. I can subscribe to that without giving it another thought! But I must also draw the conclusion from it that the critic does not exist solely to be of service to the authors; he should, however, be of service to their works. Now how is that done?

When we talk about literary criticism we only take it to include the reviewing profession in most instances. And yet, criticism—whether in the interest of capitalist profit or for the benefit of socialist cultural progress—everarches the whole vast area of distribution of intellectual production. By now, I think, we can do without the battle cry: "Kill him, he is a reviewer!" But there are other ways of slandering the profession nowadays. People are apt to say maliciously, for example, that only those tend to become critics who possess no creative talent of their own. As a consequence, their reviews will be characterized by envy of the creativity of others. Even the most sensitive people in the most posh surroundings may be heard saying things like that at times. But who, I wonder, would ever say that the critic might be motivated by love—untainted by a lust for power—love for the arts; love for the artists and a reverence, perhaps even an exaggerated reverence for the arts?

The question one must therefore ask is what exactly is literary criticism and what is its purpose ?

Let me preface what I am going to say with a brief statement on methodology: Now, all of us assembled here are accustomed to working with quotations. But for that very reason, permit me to dispense with quotations altogether. I shall not even quote Karl Marx in this his anniversary year.

But before making bold to speak from my own experience, let me acquaint you with some of my doubts as to the legitimacy of proceeding in this manner. I ran into them recently full of youthful vigor in an issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Here was a man in the prime of life talking; a very talented man at that, imparting wisdom. He did so based on the right to life of the recent generation under socialism which has just assumed its specific mission. Now this is what he had to say: certain characteristic life styles could only be communicated "by a new generation which has /become/ sharp-eyed." But since the generations "are taking over from one another in such quick succession, a man who is old and grey," locked into the "rules and standards of his youth," has no choice but to liquidate himself. "This particular hero leaves the stage once and for all. This is not only how his own life ends but his age as well." That is how rapidly "the ages" pass by this fellow-writer. It applies to an individual who clings to the ideals of real humanism. As a result, he can no longer fathom the present situation of humanism—and so he takes his leave. Being old and grey myself, the conclusion I draw is this: the more ages have rolled by one, the less of an idea one has of where one actually is. As a result of a standardized process of mental decay, such a person feels that an age comes to an end even as his life does! In that sense, then, you are having a fossil speak to you—which should long since have been buried among the geological strata or if actually dug out should at best be displayed in a glass case in some museum. That there are individuals like Ludwig Renn—who is no longer with us—or Wilhelm Girnus—who is very advanced in years—who are not only conscious of the basic principles of their age from start to finish but who are also aware of the different means needed at different times to fight for peace and the preservation of mankind does not appear to be consonant with such a short-winded conception of what a generation is. But let us leave that aside.

Without making reference to a number of school pranks, my political life began upon graduation in March 1933. Thus, I can now look back—suspiciously—on a full 50 years of my age. My activities as a critic have been equally dubious, spanning a good 35 years. They began when Paul Rilla stopped his own activity as a critic around 1950.

I was a young woman then. "You will see," he said to me in confidence at the time, "literary criticism is a thing of the past. I am going to delve into Lessing and if that does not do it, there still is Wilhelm Busch." He had no sooner said and done these things than he died. It was the perfect moment for a critic of his subtlety, conscientiousness and acumen.

Given your present peaceable overview of our socialist literature, you probably have no idea of all the things which were unpopular, so as not to say anathema at that time. Nor can you imagine what dedication it took to remain true to literature.

In political life, discussion of mistakes is considered counter-productive. Science, however, demands a sober backward look which includes wrong turns and opportunities missed—otherwise it will stagnate. There was a time, ladies and gentlemen, in /our/ time when someone like Ludwig Renn was subjected to the most malicious misinterpretation and when Becher's name was mentioned people would fall silent. And Becher, after all, was a member of the cabinet at the time and would soon be on his deathbed. It was only after he was buried that his praises were sung. There were some years where it took real courage to give a good review to Brecht's "work in the theater;" where we were subjected to harsh words by Soviet critics before there was a public statement to the effect that Anna Seghers' "The Dead Stay Young" was indeed a major socialist as well as realistic novel. You may still remember that Bienkopp's death was held against Strittmatter for a long time and that "Wanzka," the innocent, not only caused the author almost to have a heart attack but even brought an entire ministry to a boil. And there were always people who came up with the appropriate arguments to flesh out these bigotries. I will leave it to your own good judgment whether you wish to call any of them critics.

One must try to understand, ladies and gentlemen, that literary criticism is a battleground at all times which demands of each individual critic to be true to his own convictions—but not as to hunt down and kill authors like so many game animals. I would hope that everyone has by now realized this in the aftermath of the 8th party congress which was so important from a cultural point of view. The real point is that new works of substance contain such a large amount of hitherto undeveloped material that they must under all circumstances be defended in a circumspect and energetic manner. The senses of our contemporaries must be cleansed of obfuscation. The authorities must be given an assurance of the fact that and the manner in which the new work is of service to the interests of society. The need to "defend the poetic mode" is a given in any society and at all times both from the point of view of literary aesthetics and that of extra-literary considerations. He who wishes to function as a critic will have to keep this in mind. In time, he will find out what kind of personal qualifications are required of him.

At this point, I do not wish to go into the present state of our literary criticism; but I do believe—and I am not alone in feeling this way—that it is not doing well.

In former times, the arts and aesthetics quite often lagged behind principled and expert advances. Now, we have the opposite situation. Aesthetics and literature have moved ahead in several sectors as a result of painstaking teamwork and thorough work on the material at hand, making substantive progress and producing the correspondingly valid data. Criticism can make very good use of all this today. But unfortunately it looks as though criticism is increasingly becoming bogged down in barren monotony.

This is the result of meek reluctance to express an opinion. The critics are worried about the sensitivities of our authors. The latter have a long memory for injuries sustained more than 20 years ago and are intent on getting the critics off their backs altogether. A surefire method employed to attain this end is to brand any attempt to go into the position, standing and craftsmanship of a given work somewhat more closely as a "denunciatory gesture." The term itself means no more than pointing out; but it has long since taken on that other, derogatory meaning which implies that a kind of institutional "pointing out" is involved which is a threat to the author's life and limb and may obstruct and suppress his creative powers. There are cowardly people everywhere and they, too, can do damage. But it would be slanderous to say that denunciation—in whatever sense—is a fundamental characteristic of our literary criticism. One need only check on the publication practices of the government and the publishing houses. The books are coming out and the authors suffer no harm as a consequence.

In keeping with the overall development of socialist culture, our literature is becoming more and more diversified; it is picking up more themes and taking up more variable ideological positions and is going through a distinct maturation process. But in the face of all this, our critics are silent, applying the same standard to all the material being reviewed. The reading public no longer bothers with them at all because the reviews offer them nothing to go on. Many a high-quality work is reviewed in the same way as products which can be and in fact are turned out by the dozen.

What then is criticism and what is its job supposed to be ?

Just as in years past when I could not do without the term "experience"—as ambiguous as it is—I am treading on the ground of philosophy today. Because of the complexity of the subject matter, the literary critic will have to borrow some of his methodological tools from this or that other discipline at times. Those active in these disciplines tend to take this amiss, pointing out the deficiencies of the day-to-day practitioners.

From a philosophical point of view, any critic who feels he owes something both to society and the written word will have to differentiate between his conception of "social consciousness" and his conception of "ideology." On this issue, I will try to stick as close to Marx as I can. The philosophers are free to pick my arguments apart afterwards.

Literature and art both are manifestations of social consciousness! And in the sense that it can only be attained on the basis of concern for the epoch and the class and its ideology, literature and art receive their share of ideology. It is closely tied to its decision condition. But writers and artists are always most directly concerned with their own concrete existence and that of their contemporaries. Anyone lacking in the necessary powers of observation—however promising his formal background may be—will not be able to produce a work of substance and significance. In addition to an aesthetic sense, it is imperative that the critic possess a highly developed sense for the realities! This happens to be a somewhat rare gift which, as a matter of fact, earns one less praise than vexation. The writers themselves can tell you a thing or two about that. As for the critic, this combination of attributes is the only thing which enables him to obtain a clear idea of the literary message. They disclose the writer's intentions to him and thus serve as a basis for making the appropriate judgments. Conscious partisanship is a fundamental attribute of socialist humaneness. The author's work will bear the imprint of his own partisanship. It is created on the basis of his own particular ideology and often enough—in the sense of the slogan "art is a weapon"—willingly becomes subservient to it. But that is not all! Rooted in the ideas and concerns of its time and its class, an important stands a chance of long outlasting the conditions under which it was created—thanks to its unerring concreteness.

Given these fundamental connections of aesthetic activity, what is the true job of the critic?

Whatever mistakes he may make, his public mission will be to see to it that the shockingly new aspects of perceived reality—the truth that comes out in a new work of significance—will be familiar as quickly as possible to his contemporaries. It is the critic's job to communicate that aspect of social consciousness which the work has dealt with and developed to the ideological superstructure of contemporary society. He must see to it that it can become a part of the culture of the environment in which it was created on the basis of its originality, its validity and its particular and unexpected beauty.

Wherever there are human beings, artifacts and written records are created. Astounding proof of this can be seen in every ethnological museum. But what the poet knows by nature, we others find confirmed in extreme situations of our existence—namely the fundamental life function of the aesthetic! It is a primary phenomenon which cannot be imagined prior to having experienced it.

Anyone who has ever been agonizingly close to death will rather unexpectedly experience the comfort derived from beauty as one of the fundamental aspects of our existence. The mere view of something beautiful as long as the eye can still see—whether it be the well-tied bow on a nurse's apron; a flower held close for the dying person to see or the view from the sickbed to the emerald-green lawn below may actually make it easier for us mortals to experience death. "The blackbird's song after my demise," as Brecht put it. One cannot know it ahead of time but he who has made the experience does know how deep the roots of the poetic go in us humans. In the same fundamental way we exist in the fine arts and in music according to the laws of beauty.

The true critic, who will not permit himself to be degraded to the function of a manipulator, knows full well how valuable the material is with which he deals. His innermost motivation will be to love and to arouse love. In this manner then the critic's midwifery may be of service in the development of the ideological superstructure of the society of his age by setting the proper standards. In later eras and other times, his work, saved from obscurity, will have to play a different function in a different superstructure and will represent different standards.

It would be bad, if a society's physical production and culture were to stagnate and it would be equally damaging, if the same thing happened to the ideological superstructure. Rilla saw just such a period of time approaching then in the aftermath of the heady and innovative initial years of reconstruction. Political circumstances of a general nature led to it; but wrongheaded, simplistic theorems intensified the misery in the intellectual field. This made Rilla decide to put an end to his day-to-day reviews which evaluated the material at hand and placed it in the proper context and thereby made an essential contribution to rebuilding our cultural life out of the ruins of Nazi barbarism.

Dogmatism is the death of all activity and thought. Thought deteriorates to the point of scholastic exegesis. In those days, this could be observed in the Annals of Philosophy based on all the thinking that was not done. With regard to the creative process, this type of stagnation naturally leads to a mechanistic view which in turn leads to a kind of naive voluntarism in dealing with the arts and the artists. This was a great disappointment to the artists themselves, who viewed it as a serious threat to their creativity. Regarding criticism and its sustenance function, Rilla saw a period of much effort and little success ahead—not to mention the risks. That spoiled the day-to-day reviews for him. But if he could no longer work as a critic, he at least wanted to show by the example of Lessing what the critic does and what his goals are.

Some of the older authors may still be so much affected by these occurrences which took place prior to the badly needed 8th party congress to the extent that they either hold no brief for critics or think the worst of them. And the younger ones followed this trend and aped this approach.

But we are not living in a primitive society where every member of the clan can hear the song being sung in front of the tents and where all those inside the tents sings at times himself or paints or makes music and dances and thus is knowledgable in the most direct way. The huge societies of the industrial age with its myriad divisions of labor cannot possibly develop anything like a universal cultural life in their midst in the absence of all manner of mediation. This is where the mission of the critic, too, lies. It must separate the wheat from the chaff and see to it, by wide-ranging comparison, that the type and content of important works are not lost in the contemporary exchange.

If one compares the state of criticism in other European countries where democratic cultural conditions have prevailed for a long time—such as England or France—with our state of affairs, then one finds that our authors, enveloped by pride, have assumed a rather sensitive posture vis-a-vis the critics.

If someone really probes the material, takes it firmly in hand and analyzes it, they waste no time in calling it a denunciation. We must see to it that this nasty term and all the associations it evokes is stricken from our literary vocabulary—because there is no justification for it in the light of the critics' actual dealings with the writers. For that matter, a somewhat negative review may even serve as a come-on, since criticism is not taken all that seriously. The reader, in fact, is looking for the unusual, as it were.

But there is many an author who likes to deal with his own special critic or knowledgable editor as long as he remains discreet. That critic's yeoman work is of help to the work in progress and there is nothing an author likes better than to have a well-written and well-researched monograph devoted to his work because it will help build his image. But when literary criticism turns into public relations, it self-destructs as social commentary and a style of writing—particularly if it states no opinion in the interests of avoiding controversy. Under those circumstances, all it produces is monotonous, repetitive writing and it is unable to differentiate between works of distinction and dime-a-dozen merchandise. Once criticism is viewed as "negative" on principle, it degenerates into a mere "look at the arts" such as we remember only too well from the past. Discrimination against the critics was one of the primary methods employed by the Nazi literary establishment to extirpate the courageousness of honest writing and to lend added weight to mediocrity as the driving force of pseudo-literary activity. A socialist culture, based on profound humanity, must never resort to /that/! This means that we cannot afford to call criticism "destructive" as a matter of principle and to do away with it because it supposedly does harm to writing.

In speaking of all this monotonous praise being thrown around, it may not be totally superfluous to note how striking it is that the works of new talented women authors have surpassed those of their male colleagues in terms of life substance, clearness of view and courageousness of thought. But the titles of these works can at best be found in publishers' listings which tell nothing of their content at all. If I am not entirely mistaken, we are just now witnessing the emergence of a genius of Faustian proportions who possesses the storyteller's power of significantly tying together the smallest human event and the global contexts and dangers of our time. But hardly anyone seems to have noticed that as yet. It might well be an epoch-making event in our literary life. I think it is no accident that the work I am talking about is by a woman.

The question to be asked is: what good will such a work of distinction do—and what mischief will it do, once it is published?

At this point, I cannot help but engage in some polemics regarding such traditional concepts as "our cultural heritage" or the "treasure trove of world culture." Quantitative designations of this sort make it appear that these traditions are something like a storehouse, a hoard of the Nibelungs. It is all there, piled high and shiny in its proper place. It lies there waiting. It is our property. We make use of it whenever the need arises. But in truth these traditions represent a vast value structure—an order of things.

As soon as one more work of distinction is added to it, a certain amount of movement takes place within this order. The new work throws a new and different light on the totality of what is already there. New relationships arise; new lines of origin emerge; regroupings and revaluations become necessary. When a single new work emerges, literature and literary history may for years be called upon to deal with a new view of literature as a whole. Unexpected new theories may arise. The truly new has a major impact on prior arrangements. Its surprise effect also serves to explain the aversion to the emergence of an original work. Given the amount of re-thinking to be done, it is clear that one would lose time never to be recaptured, if one permitted the process of having the work become a classic proceed unaided. The contemporaries, however, must have their increase in consciousness as soon as possible. They must be given access to contemporary works and through these access must continually be kept open and facilitated to the traditional works. A threshold of the unaccustomed must always be crossed. The artists themselves are aware of this and many of them do what they can to lessen fear of this threshold or at least to reduce the gap by means of their own creative efforts.

It is at this juncture of things becoming and things long since existing that the work of the critic takes place.

The critic must possess the knowledge and the powers of judgment to be able to analyze the work. He must be able to evaluate it within the context of the artist's previous output. He must be able to make wide-ranging comparisons so as to assign the work a place within the context of the other contemporary works. Familiarity with the history of a given discipline as well as a clear insight into the social determinants of his age give him an indication of what the relationship between the new work and the tradition may be. It goes without saying that knowledge of literature and literary criticism are connected to one another in the closest possible way--that the one is a component of the other.

Sensual awareness coupled with his store of professional knowledge will enable the critic not only to see but wholeheartedly to enjoy the originality of a specific work--insofar as it really is original.

The complexity of his subject matter—that is to say of literature itself—calls upon him to provide a like complexity and intensity. Only in this manner will he be able to serve as a communicator for his contemporaries. It goes without saying that this will be an evaluation process. The critic may be in error; but he must dare to make a judgment. Otherwise, criticism is of no value.

The process may be exciting but it will not always be pleasant. The critic's clear view of things—which not even he is able to corrupt—will at times make it necessary for him to hurt a decent individual. The writers consider critical awareness something of an imposition. They do not trust the critic to be as sensitive as they are. The judgments passed by the critic—unless they turn out to be praise—tend to make them unhappy. His evaluations are felt to be invasions into accepted practices—and even more so the demands that arise from these evaluations. Who is supposed to like a person that does work of this kind? People who follow a critic's work for a certain length of time are often quite surprised—once they meet him face-to-face—that they are dealing with a more or less human being. They would never think that the critic is pursuing a quiet, unassuming and profoundly modest activity which is based on respect—at times even excessive reverence—for the arts. The poets do not thank him for it.

Over 35 years as a critic—quietly or publicly—of uncounted works, a handful of authors at most has opened its heart to me. But these are independent-minded, gifted writers who have the courage of their intentions and conceptions and therefore are strong enough to turn a critique of their work to good use.

In closing, I might mention a cause for comfort which one would not ordinarily expect as a Marxist critic—because I am sure you will be as happy about it as I.

On a number of occasions, world giants of literature—Nobel Prize winners long before they were so honored—told me in the most cordial terms imaginable they had never been as well understood by any other interpreter of their work. The unprincipled ordinariness of individualistic critics has nothing to offer to artists of such stature.

It seems that we Marxists owe this type of approval on the part of people who do not share our views at all to the reality-based system of coordinates of our values; to our historical-materialist method which—based on sensitivity and a lack of bias toward the manifestations of aesthetics—enables us to conceive of the extra-literary conceptions underlying such writings.

The mission of a socialist critic is not like that of a Beckmesser or an arbiter of art forms. It is a public, mediating activity which is based on principles but not on any predetermined order. It is totally given over to one's own responsibility and cannot be pursued unless one dares to take risks. Should a critic become an authority, it will not be because of any outward status. He is a man of letters through and through, as Voltaire defined him. His work calls for independence and lots of patience—if need be even self-effacement. And that may, under certain conditions, last quite a while.

I thank you!

9478
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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Central Plenum Strengthens Party

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 18 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] The 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum will undoubtedly hold a particular place in Polish history. After more than 20 years, this was the first session of the Central Committee devoted entirely to the problems of ideological work.

This fact alone indicates that the highest party echelon which was active during the period between congresses has recognized that ideological work, its development and strengthening, is a form of primary activity--an indispensable form for the solidifying of the leading role of the party in society.

Thus formulated, the 13th Plenum has become an important step in the direction of building up party strength, the complete restoration of its prestige and placing in its hands all decisions concerning the running of the nation as well as leading it out of such a severe and deep economic, political and, to a significant degree, moral crisis. Thus, this was a plenum of particular importance and significance which demonstrated to a considerable degree that the party was capable of overcoming basic weaknesses and the crisis of the first years of the current decade.

The speakers at the plenum were: representatives of various communities; workers from large industrial plants who, from their own everyday experience, are familiar with the attitudes, aspirations and problems of the Polish labor class; scholars; experts in the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, and peasants. Various aspects of ideological work were brought up and various arguments were raised. However, the same thought was evident in each speech--an offensive stand on behalf of propagating Marxist-Leninist views and the primary task of restoring to Marxist ideology its vital role in the activity and decisions of the party.

The final discussion and resolution demonstrated that ideology and ideological work are considered the basic trend of party activity.

It is this ideological work which is being developed with increasing vigor, which is becoming increasingly militant and which is taking increasingly successful action against the internal opposition which had taken shape in Poland between 1981 and 1982 and which was supported so intensely in the West, that is becoming--as was emphatically demonstrated at the 13th Plenum--a vital line of party activity. This work which is being conducted more and more successfully, as demonstrated by the unquestionable rise of party authority, is conducted under the banner: socialism--yes; deviations--no. There is also no doubt regarding that which local Central Committee members spoke about: that the ideological work of the party is landing on the increasingly receptive soil of Polish social opinion which is beginning to have a better understanding of the great, historical truth that only the Marxist-Leninist party, thus the PZPR, has the strength, program and ideology which guarantee it the ability to successfully fulfill its role as the leading force in the nation.

The plenum resolution obligates all party echelons and all party members to participate actively in the propagation of Marxist-Leninist thought.

And yet another element of the deliberations at the 13th Plenum, an element which cannot be overlooked, is the matter of strengthening and deepening the bond of friendship with the USSR. This task, which is of vital importance to the party and the Polish nation, should be--as was stressed at the 13th Plenum--an integral part of the ideological work of the party.

In the coming weeks and months, the material presented at the 13th Plenum will be the object of study by both party members and nonparty people because this material outlines the platform for leading Poland out of the crisis, the rebuilding of its strength and restoring to it its proper place both in the family of socialist countries and on the international forum.

Radom Plenum on Improvement of Party Work

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 83, pp 1, 5

[Text] During yesterday's plenary session, the Provincial Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Radom discussed the steps to be taken for improving the style and methods of party work as well as the organizational and political strength of the provincial party organization.

The following took part in the deliberations, besides KW members and their representatives: members of the presidia of the Provincial Party Control Committee and the Provincial Revisory Committee; delegates to the Ninth Party Congress; the first secretaries of KM [City Committee], KM-G [City-Gmina Committee], KG [Gmina Committee] and KZ [Plant Committee]; managers of regional party work centers and of KW departments as well as the leadership of provincial youth organization boards.

The following attended the plenum: Zofia Grzyb, Politburo member; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Revisory Committee, and members of the central party authorities representing the provincial organization. Also present were: Col Edward Jedruszewski, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provincial Council; Prof Jan Sajkiewicz, rector of the WSI [Higher School of Engineering], Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, governor of Radom, and Col Henryk Walczynski, chief of the Provincial Bureau of Internal Affairs.

In opening the deliberations, the first secretary of the KW, Bogdan Prus, emphasized that the plenum is examining subject matter of extreme importance to party work shortly after the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee which passed important resolutions and, at the same time, following consultations with local organizations and echelons. The plenum should find the answer to the fundamental question: What must be done in order to make party work more successful? This also has a crucial significance in the creation of conditions for the rapid stabilization of sociopolitical and economic life in the country.

Before approaching the principal topic, the plenum participants honored with a minute of silence the memory of the party activists from Szydłowiec who lost their lives in a car accident: Miroslaw Misiowiec, secretary of the KMiG [City and Gmina Party Committee]; Franciszek Kucfir, ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] instructor; Tadeusz Kwiatkowski, assistant city and gmina manager; Marian Niewadzisz, director of ZSZ [Basic Vocational Schools] and Zygmunt Sobotka, vice president of the Elektron Cooperative of Disabled Persons.

The paper of the executive board (whose discussion is presented on p 5) was given by the KW secretary, Jan Rabarczyk.

Nine persons took part in the discussion. Excerpts of the remarks made are also presented on p 5.

In his presentation, Kazimierz Morawski voiced his opinion on the issues and problems raised at the plenum.

"First, I shall present my view on three matters addressed to the central authorities. The first is the recommendation that the campaign also be used to conduct discussions with all party members. The 13th Plenum passed an appropriate resolution which does not contain decisions concerning the discussions. Because, after all, is it necessary to wait for such decisions? Do discussions with party members not arise from current needs; should they not be the result of improving the method of party work which we are discussing today at the plenum?

And this is not only a matter of talks with party members but also of conducting talks with nonparty people.

"Votes are increasing--and this was the case at the plenum in Radom--in favor of extending the term of office of basic echelons. The party leadership also sees a lot of justification in this. However, any and all changes must be made only at the next party congress.

"And yet another issue--that of membership fees. A new draft plan has been prepared which has already reached all party elements. We will adopt standards which, after consultations and in the opinions of the majority, will be the most appropriate and valid.

"However, as far as the course of today's session is concerned--I am giving high marks to both the presented lecture paper and the discussion. In particular, the material presented by the executive board revealed openly the cloudy aspects of our activity. And it is very good that this was done. An echelon where criticism is one of the fixed forms of party work presents a good image of itself. If one knows the problem, then therapy is all the more effective. The manner and methods of party work--this was the dominant topic at the Ninth PZPR Congress and continues to be a permanent task, without the features of active "stock trading." Party committees are also institutions; they must be well organized and function efficiently. Every PZPR member should continually ask the question how and through what the exemplary functioning of individual party elements should be manifested; he should also share his views with other members.

"The party style or manner is a broad concept but one which is very concrete. The party style is the quick elimination of mistakes, the skillful assignment of tasks, care and concern for people, well thought out decisions as well as concern for how to best utilize the proposals submitted by a fellow member or nonparty person. A good style is determined by basic party principles--to speak the truth, among other things. It is also expressing oneself and writing in simple language. Practically speaking, I understand this to mean: discuss more and preach less.

"We still continue--as confirmed by complex inspections conducted by the CKR [Central Review Commission] and WKR [Provincial Audit Commission]--to frequently pass resolutions without the capability of implementing them fully. This is a serious mistake. We already know what to do but the question still remains, how to do it. That is why, among others, the workers self-government, trade unions and PRON are presenting us with new forms of a work style and party management. A valid observation made in the lecture paper and in the discussion was that responsibility not only belongs to the party but also to its allies."

The Provincial Committee passed a resolution pertaining to the directions, style and methods of party work which defines the specific tasks of POP [Basic Party Organizations] and echelons.

The plenum also accepted program assumptions of the reports-elections campaign.

In his closing remarks at the end of the plenum, the KW first secretary stated, among other things:

"Improvement in the work of party organizations in work establishments is indispensable. Although, the situation is quite differentiated, things are still bad in this respect in rural areas. A lot can be changed for the better there as well, regardless of existing determining factors, if there is the desire to do so. Our comrades from Gniewoszowo proved this. It is also essential that the party and workers aktiv be expanded in gminas. These comrades should be made use of in ROPP's. It is also necessary to help rural self-governments and PRON elements."

"At the 13th Plenum a resolution was passed with regard to the reports-elections campaign in the party. We must now implement it quickly so that by mid-December, plant, city-gmina and gmina conferences will have been completed and the provincial conference completed by mid-January."

The plenum came to a close with the singing of the Miedzynarodowka [Internationale].

Discussion

Henryk Skorza, first secretary of the Radom KW--"Soon party organizations and echelons will begin the task of assessing the accomplishments of the ending term of office. The plenum is a good occasion for conducting an analysis of the state of the party in the region and for pointing out the results and mistakes. This was reflected in the paper of the executive board. Many of the assessments presented in it pertain to the party organization in Radom. They were not positive. Indeed, we did not succeed in solving some of the problems of intraparty life in accordance with needs and expectations. There are various reasons for this but essentially attention should be called to shortcomings in ideological training. This statute requirement is not always well understood and the material prepared by the municipal echelon is still not always made use of in the POP. Gaps in awareness are not without consequence on other undertakings. Therefore, the influence of party organizations on the work of self-governments in plants is too small. Party teams were not appointed everywhere in these organs. Despite resolutions passed by central echelons, some PZPR members, mainly mid-level supervisory representatives, have not as yet joined trade unions. We must decide on undertakings that would make it possible to increase party discipline and at the same time eliminate noticeable shortcomings more quickly."

Jerzy Kozinski, director of ROPP in Zwolen--"The party continues to function under very complicated conditions. Today, we cannot count on a social burst of spontaneous support for our program. Therefore, we must laboriously rebuild trust and authority through conscientious work and good representation of social interests. This will undoubtedly take longer than a year or two. And what can we count among our accomplishments? We have put a halt to the process of people leaving the party. This is very important, but at the same time, only

seven POP's in our region have accepted new candidates during the most recent period. Therefore, efforts should be increased for the rebuilding of ranks to proceed as rapidly as possible. However, quantity should never be treated as the main determinant of effectiveness as had been the case in the past.

"Shortly, the POP's will sum up their activity. It may already be said that their members emphasize the issue of the continually inadequate implementation of proposals and recommendations. Within this context, there arises the question: Are we not capable of, for example, adapting the lines of communication to gmina needs? We are trying to explain things at the bottom in gminas; the sharp edge of criticism is directed toward us while those who actually made the decisions are silent. For this reason, I propose, among other things, that during the reports-elections campaign the gmina aktiv, which is not very big, be supported by comrades representing echelons and institutions on the provincial level. The benefit is mutual: those who come will become acquainted with gmina realities and there will also be the opportunity to convey information to the ranks, to listen to the most honest evaluations of the work of this or other unit serving agriculture and acting in rural areas."

Edward Kustra, first secretary of KZ in the ZTS [expansion unknown] Pronit Plastics Works in Pionki--"The plant organization in Pronit has 877 members and candidates. During the period from the last reports-elections campaign, our ranks have decreased considerably. For this reason, we are according primary importance to the issue of rebuilding them. We feel that the road to acquiring new members leads through a realistic program of action and the quick and effective elimination of mistakes which can be felt by the work force. Systematic work with active people is also important. Those who understand social needs and enterprise interests have the chance to activate individual memberships.

"Proof of progressive stabilization in Pronit is the considerable participation of the party in creating a factory savings and anti-inflationary program as well as assistance in organizing trade union and workers self-government elements. This is something to cheer about. At the same time, one must wonder at the fact that 250 party members do not belong to a trade union. We talk to them and explain things. I feel that it is essential to increase party discipline. Central resolutions must be observed. I believe that good results will come about from the campaign of explaining party policy which is being conducted with the assistance of, among others, PZPR members who fulfill management functions in the enterprise."

Waclaw Strzebicki, first secretary of the KM-G in Nowe Miasto--"The reports-elections campaign is beginning in the party and discussions ought to be conducted with all PZPR members and not just with those who fulfill management functions. This is not a question of verification but that of discussions which would stimulate individual people to activity and release their initiatives; for it does happen that we find passive members within our ranks who stay with the party from habit. Meanwhile, thought should be given to what each PZPR member brings to his or her organization; can he be counted on? If not, then we must party company with him. Also the term of office of so-called elective authorities in the party is too short. Such an activist hardly

has the chance to become settled and take a look around him when already there are new elections awaiting him. I would think that this could be changed.

"An important issue is the strengthening of the authority of party echelons and organizations. This should be benefited by, among other things, the serious treatment of all events in gmina life, such as M-GRN [City-Gmina People's Council] sessions, by representatives of units whose activity is being discussed at just such a session, as well as by the implementation of proposals submitted by specific communities. The conscientious treatment of all remarks and postulates and their consistent solution also guarantees the growth of the authority of party organizations."

Wiktor Doboszynski, first secretary of KG in Chotcza--"There are 17 POPs acting in the area of the gmina (with 15 of them in rural areas) with a total of 220 members. Six of these organizations are small POP with up to 10 party members. As a result, their forcefulness is smaller. It is the task of the gmina party organization to create a climate of involvement, greater activity and initiative. Meanwhile, the head party aktiv is just a small group of people. War veterans and older comrades have not yet joined us. They feel disenchanted, saying that this is not the kind of party that they fought for. We bring together a group of a dozen or so sympathizers of our actions from whom whose midst a leadership aktiv may arise in the future. Together, we try to prove that the party is not only for meetings and ceremonies. Community-social work is continuing. A road, sports activity field, community center and fire station are being built in the gmina. People are willing; they know that they are working on their own behalf."

Andrzej Gostynski, first secretary of the KM-G in Grojec--"The city-gmina party organization has already assessed its organizational state, pointed out the directions of activity for the upcoming period and answered the question of to what degree it is capable of fulfilling a leading and supervisory function in our region. It is important for party members to be present not only wherever decisions of vital importance for the city and gmina are being made but also to constitute a recognized force, to have everyone represent individually an attitude worthy of a PZPR member and to influence others by personal example and bold activity. The truth remains that party strength is in its members. However, the structure of the city-gmina organization evokes concern. Workers and farmers make up less than half of its membership even though 85 percent of PZPR members have I.D. credentials claiming that they come from laborer-peasant backgrounds. It is possible to speak of social progress with them as an example; however, it sometimes seems that they have forgotten their origins.

"Copperation with councillors is going well in our area. We have found a common language and, at times, we conduct joint sessions of the executive board and the M-GRN Presidium. On the other hand, there are more representatives of the old party aktiv in PRON elements.

"We have evaluated all party organizations including those which are typically rural. We did not succeed in overcoming stagnation everywhere;

organizations do not always feel a bond with the community in which they function. We have proposed that at least once in a quarter, open party meetings should be held and that general rural meetings ought not to be shunned. They too should serve as an opportunity for releasing activity."

Marian Drobek, first secretary of KG in Gniewoszowo--"I look for conditions conducive to progress and to activation of socioeconomic life in the gmina in the everyday direct contact of echelon management with party members and nonparty people. Honest discussions are conducive to overcoming ideological frustration felt by many people resulting from the post-August months. That is why the KG aktiv takes part in all POP meetings. We value their significance. After all, this is where the attitudes of PZPR members are formed. We stress the need for preparing these meetings adequately and for a proper attitude of the leadership of given units toward decisions which have been passed. The director must feel that he is a party activist and remember that the evaluation of his behavior is projected upon the entire party--the entire apparatus of state authority.

"Slowly but systematically the authority of the gmina party organization is beginning to grow. We are building it up with the consistent implementation of proposals submitted during the reports-elections campaign. We are noting the first results: we have reactivated two rural POPs and we have handed out 19 membership cards this month to young, leading farmers. However, the party is responsible for the entire scope of social and economic life; therefore, we must maintain an indispensable dose of criticism toward our own weaknesses."

Czeslaw Sobczak, KZ secretary within the Provincial Administration Bureau--"The effectiveness of party activity and growth of organizational efficiency depend on the implementation by PZPR members of individual tasks which have been assigned to them. The assigning of individual tasks is a form of bringing everyone together in the fulfillment of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and one's own; it is a method of activating the ranks. That is why, on the one hand, this form should be enriched while, on the other, its accounts should be settled consistently by using individual responsibility as well. What kind of results does this bring? This can be attested to by the example of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] in our bureau. This organization has reactivated activity through the inspiration of young party members who fulfilled their tasks.

"Every PZPR member is a leader in his community. In order to implement this slogan, it is necessary to expand political-training work more than has been the case until now. Both the managerial and reserve cadre should be included in this, since some people forget who recommended them for what position. Within the framework of cooperation with the Jaroslaw District, the experiences of Soviet communists ought to be utilized for they have accorded high ranking to party schooling."

Kazimierz Nowatkiewicz, member of the Intraparty KW--"The numbers quoted in the presentation of the executive board of the KW which indicate that there continues to be a shortage of young people in the provincial party organization, create concern for the future of the party and for the growth of its ranks. For this reason, it is necessary to begin overcoming

this negative phenomenon immediately. I am aware of the fact that there are many reasons for this but not every one of them has been thoroughly examined. This gives rise to the need for a conscientious analysis of the sources of unwillingness by young people to join our ranks as well as the reasons for the low effectiveness of party influence on these communities thus far. This complex problem should be examined by a team of social science specialists which would be appointed by the KW PZPR executive board in the immediate future on the authority of the plenum."

Discussion of the Paper of the KW PZPR Executive Board Given by KW Secretary Jan Rybarczyk.

In implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, we are concentrating the entire scope of our activity on strengthening the managing and leading role of the provincial party organization, on regaining the trust of the labor class and of society in it and on creating political conditions conducive to the strengthening of the stabilization of socioeconomic and political life. This process requires the further strengthening of the organizational, ideological and political unity of PZPR ranks and the increased offensiveness and activeness of all party elements.

The provincial organization of the PZPR was comprised of 37,175 members and candidates according to the state of the organization on 30 September of this year. During the last 3 years, i.e., from July 1980, this number has decreased by more than 14,000 persons. Though in the first period, there was the phenomenon of turning in party membership cards and leaving due to political reasons, by the second half of 1981 and currently this is due to self-cleansing by the party. Stabilization is gradually setting in, but from January to September of this year, only 135 comrades were accepted onto the list of candidates. This number is very small. We are far from setting limits, however, plans for growth and strengthening of the PZPR ranks should be worked out and consistently implemented by all party echelons.

Changes in membership also resulted in specific changes in the degree to which new party members were canvassed in particular socioprofessional communities. In industry, this index comes to 34.4 percent; in the building trade, 24.6 percent; in commerce, 24.3 percent; and in education and upbringing, 26.3 percent. Hence, the party does not have adequate human potential in order to be capable of conducting proper political activity everywhere. This effectiveness is also weakened by the large number of small organizations. Out of 1,733 POPs more than 1,100 have no more than 15 members and candidates. For this reason, the growth of activity of the provincial party organizations is not always benefited by the work of its regional elements. Their action is not aggressive enough and is unsystematic; their programs are frequently not very definite and not enough attention is focused on the implementation of the resolutions of higher echelons and also on the carrying out of their own decisions and proposals. This also has a negative effect on party discipline.

The aktiv has a particular role in the implementation of party policy. The method which is used most frequently is assigning to an activist a specific POP for cooperation but that is not all. In many committees, work with the aktiv requires putting things in order--the proper drawing up of programs and current assessments.

The most important elements of party activity are POPs. Despite considerable progress in the area of activating POP activity, there continues to be a series of shortcomings. There are instances where not one meeting is held in a quarter as, for example, in the case of the POPs in Chynow, Gielniow and Mirow. Not all POPs conduct discussions and evaluations of the political attitudes of individual party members; party tasks are not assigned everywhere. However, certain progress should be noted in the area of the implementation of ideological meetings.

A key task falls to PZPR organizations which function in large plants. Between 1980-81, this is where the main attack of the opponents of socialism was directed. The year 1982 brought the gradual rebuilding of their strength and position, cohesiveness and activeness. However, this process is not yet completed. In 10 of the largest working establishments, party members make up 14.7 percent of the total number of employees. This situation is best illustrated by Pronit where 19.7 percent of the employed total are party members; by Walter Machinery Plant, 18.3 percent; and by Radoskor Leather Industry Plant, 16.5 percent. Plant committees and POP executive boards should work for an efficiently functioning system of ties with work forces--various forms of consultation; exchange of opinions, views and assessments with the widest possible spheres of workers. It is essential that the influence of party members on self-governments, trade unions and youth organizations be strengthened.

It should be stressed that despite many failures which continue to occur, plant party organizations have exerted great effort in the area of implementing the economic reform, working out and understanding its meaning and in the area of anti-inflationary and economizing undertakings.

The rural community represents a vast field of party activity in Radom Province with more than 1,000 POPs active bringing together nearly 18,000 members and candidates. The potential in numbers is rather considerable and yet the frequent passive attitudes of this group of comrades and inadequacies in the work of regional echelons with the party rural intelligentsia result in their not playing their proper role. Involving in party work in rural areas PZPR members who live there and who belong to POPs in their enterprises continues to be a difficult problem.

Cooperation with ZSL echelons should play a vital and greater role in the implementation of the party program. The need is generally felt for a more definite spurring on of this cooperation.

The situation in education and culture also requires intensive party and ideological-political work. There are 205 party members and candidates in the Radom WSI. The PZPR organization has demonstrated a great deal of activity here during the very difficult 1980-81 period and it worked out the proper directions of influencing the school community. This work should be continued with particular attention paid to strengthening the influence, among the academic-teaching cadre and school youth, on the creation of a sociopolitical atmosphere conducive to the development of the school or learning institution. In schools and educational-upbringing institutions, 3,010 teachers belong to the party. This constitutes 33.5 percent of the total teaching cadre employed there. As a result of inspirational-organizing activity undertaken by

KW propaganda sector as well as by regional echelons, increased activity has occurred recently within school party organizations. However, this does not apply to all POPs. There is still insufficient activity in the creation of a proper social atmosphere and climate for raising the standard of teaching and upbringing activity in the implementation of socialist concepts. Some of the teaching cadre, including both PZPR members and managerial cadre, exhibit a tolerant attitude toward the breaking of the principle of the secularity of school and education. During the new school year, party organizations must take on the greater burden of coresponsibility for the work performed by the school and for the creation of conditions for the implementation of assumed goals. Greater care for youth organizations especially for the ZSMP, is essential in postelementary schools.

The creative community is greatly differentiated. The events of recent years had a detrimental effect on the attitude of many cultural workers, actors and artists. The state of party strength is also unsatisfactory.

This situation points to the need for undertaking more definite activity by the KW, by regional echelons and the ROPP. There is the need for undertaking individual work with young people employed in the field of culture and with creative artists.

The proper functioning of prosecuting organs and the administration of justice is very important for developing the processes which stabilize social and economic life and for the elimination of social pathology. Their image is decided by political-upbringing work. This also pertains to administrative departments and other services. Medical care has a particular social significance. In the meantime, we continue to deal with many complaints and remarks concerning the work of health service facilities and with greatly differentiated attitudes of their employees. There is also a need here for greater party involvement and party affiliation in this community (currently, 7.8 percent of the health service cadre belongs to the party). This requires appropriate action by the local committee and individual POPs.

The primary issue is the implementation of the managerial and leading role of the provincial party organization in its daily activity. The strengthening of cooperation between the echelons and elements of our party, and those of the ZSL and the SD is an extremely vital element here. We are noting continual progress in the strengthening of interparty cooperation on the provincial level. There are, unfortunately, negative examples, besides the many positive ones, on the city and gmina level.

There are many problems which we must solve together. Among these is the necessity of further strengthening the rank and role of national councils and state administrative organs.

The need for strengthening the managerial and leading role of the party requires the active participation of echelons, POPs and all party members in PRON activity; in strengthening the workers self-government and self-governing and collective union organizations. Trade unions bring together

59,000 working people, i.e., 36 percent of the total work force in plants and institutions. There is no attitude of subordination or superiority between party organizations and echelons, and trade unions. Feelings of partnership-like cooperation and cooperation in solving matters which decide about the work and living conditions of work forces must and do exist. Party echelons and organizations have the obligation to create conditions for the execution by trade unions of their rights and to energetically combat together with them all manifestations of bureaucratic attitudes of the state and economic administration toward working people.

Therefore, the implementation in practice of the managerial and leading role of the party should take place through the optimum fulfillment of statutory rights and obligations and the carrying out of motivational and supervisory functions by party echelons and organizations. It should be implemented mainly through the activity of party teams and members in state authority and administrative organs, self-governing organizations, youth organizations and trade unions as well as by party members who perform various managerial functions.

Undoubtedly, a vital function in this area is performed by the system of handling proposals submitted to party echelons and organizations, responding to letters, complaints and public opinion. This system must be continually improved since it is greatly beneficial to the strengthening of party ties with the workers class, with society and to the strengthening of trust in it in various communities.

The topic discussed at today's plenum is extremely vital to the further activity of the provincial organization and especially the political and intra-party campaigns which await us. We believe that the opinions, evaluations and recommendations which were presented today will also be well utilized during the course of the reports-elections campaign.

What Is Important in Party Counts

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Jozef Porebski: "That Which Is Most Important"]

[Text] In Zabikow and Brzostowiec, two neighboring villages in the gmina of Radzyn, reports-elections meetings of PZPR POPs will be held in a few days. Both organizations have already held so-called preliminary meetings; in Zabikow on 1 October, and in Brzostowiec on 18 September. The minutes reveal that in Sabikow, everyone was present while in Brzostowiec, only 1 person did not attend out of the 21 members and candidates who make up the local POP.

Thus, attendance was very good and there should be no problem with conducting reports-elections meetings. Ultimately, the preliminary meetings led to the definite settling of various intraparty matters and thereby to greater discipline. In both POPs, these preliminary meetings were at the same time occasions for reviewing the implementation of their own resolutions and proposals.

In the case of Brzostowiec, a relatively unfavorable balance of implementation of POP proposals and recommendations addressed to various agencies and institutions greatly angered its first secretary, Comrade Marian Mazurka, who is a farmer with 11 hectares of cultivated farm land.

The next day after the meeting, instead of collecting potatoes, he went to Radzyn and stormed into the office of the gmina manager. "I wanted to grab him by the throat and shake him."

The party organization had sent several postulates to the Gmina Bureau and had not as yet received any answer. He, the first secretary of the POP, had had enough. He was not going to "cover up" in front of his comrades. After all, is he the only one who should feel responsible for and concerned about a proper atmosphere in the Brzostow POP?

Mazurka's fist was itching to pound on the gmina manager's desk but somehow he restrained himself. He only demanded a quick response to the postulates which had been sent to the Gmina Bureau. Thus, he had his way.

In a letter from 7 October, the manager informed the POP that the partial lighting of streets in Brzostowiec would be completed as early as October of this year while the repair of unsurfaced roads would be started next year; they would be laid out immediately before the repairs.

The manager also reported that the matter of digging a sand pit for general rural area needs was put into immediate action. He sent an appropriate letter in this regard to the Provincial Bureau since he alone does not have the authority to withdraw land from farm use.

The gmina manager's letter concerning the implementation of certain POP postulates will be read at the reports-elections meeting. At the same time, the POP will be advised about the action taken by the Gmina Bureau in respect to other postulates. For example, during the passing term, the party organization pointed out several times the need for construction a PKS [State Motor Transport] stand in Brzostowiec. In proposing this, it was thinking mainly of school youth. There are not even any bushes to hide behind from the wind on the spot where the stop is situated. The gmina places the blame on a lack of funds whereas in Pludy where the PKS stand is located between farm buildings, money was found for a stand.

The implementation of the POP proposal that the rural community be serviced by the post office in Radzyn and not the one in Bedlin as had been the case until now, has also been dragging on for years. After all, the current situation is utter nonsense. It is enough to point out that the residents of the rural community must go through Radsyn to Bedlin in order to pay for radio and TV usage or topick up packages or registered letters.

"We will not lay this matter to rest." Comrade Mazurek also calls attention to other POP postulates, among others, those concerning telephones, building materials and the Farmers Club. In conclusion, he spreads his hands and says, "I do not know how things will go at the reports-elections meeting, who whether I will be elected again. I have been fulfilling the functions of the first secretary for only 1 year following the death of Kowalik. When I became first secretary, I thought I would revolutionize things here but it's not that simple."

Mazurka's modesty is disarming. He takes for granted the fact that during the period following the Ninth Congress, his POP has not halted its activity even for a moment. In addition, during this time it accepted into its ranks three young farmers: Danuta Grochola, Tadeusz Kap and Jerzy Komon.

Komon has 12 hectares of farmland. He specializes in raising cattle. Kap runs a 8-hectare farm which he is continually expanding and improving. He is just finishing the building of a large, modern cow barn. His father did not belong to the party but his grandfather was an active party member and social activist. Before the war, he belonged to leftist youth organizations and after the war, he was active in the PPR [Polish Workers Party].

In his application for acceptance into the ranks of PZPR candidates, J. Komon wrote: "I believe that the policy of the party is right and that no one in this country has a better program for coming out of the crisis. The resolutions of the Ninth Congress guarantee that the party leadership will not make the same mistakes as in the 1970's."

But let us add here that at the same meeting where the POP accepted into its ranks the aforementioned three new candidates, decisions were made about crossing off two party members and one candidate. In this way, the number of members in the POP had balanced out. At the beginning of the reports period and currently, the state of the membership was 21 comrades who, it may be said are all farmers since the only "lady teacher" in the POP makeup is also a farmer. She runs a rather large farm.

Those who were crossed off were disappointing. They did not act up politically, however, during the most difficult period of the POP, they stopped attending meetings and paying their membership dues. One of them has expressed a desire to rejoin the PZPR ranks. His case was examined at the préliminary preelection meeting in September. The POP rejected the request on the grounds that this would be rather unreasonable. Let him think things through a bit more; let him demonstrate his commitment and perhaps something can be done later, i.e., reconsideration of the request to be accepted into the party ranks again.

And what about Zabikow? Does the POP secretary have similar problems? Of course. He, too, claims that the POP could have done more; could have been more active. He considers the greatest achievement of the POP to be the fact that during the reports period, no one resigned from it, no one turned in his or her party membership card and that there was no need to cross off or expel anyone from membership. Comrade Bronislaw Gnejda, who has been performing the function of first secretary of this organization without interruption since 1951, explains this fact with active intraparty work.

In the presentation of the executive board which was prepared for Monday's reports-election meeting, we read the following, among other things:

"Our POP conducted systematic explanatory activity. We did not have any serious problems with maintaining cohesiveness in our ranks. During the reports period, we held 13 recorded meetings. Among others, these were informational meetings about current sociopolitical and economic problems and various matters affecting agriculture and the rural community directly. In May of this year, we brought about a joint meeting of the POP and the management of the OSP [Party Training Center]. The meeting was devoted to begining the construction of a fire station with joint social effort. Shortly, the residents of the rural community banded together to assume their work duties. Young people did a fine job. In a matter of 2 days, sand was brought in and the entire foundation was finished. During the winter period, we will bring in building material so that we can move on with the construction in the spring and complete it in time for the 25th anniversary of our OSP. We are treating the construction of the fire station as a very important task because it will serve the entire rural community. With this fire station, we can tie in hope for animated work with young people who as of now have no facility for developing their cultural-educational activity or for organizing meetings.

The POP has its representatives in all organizations which exist in the rural community: in the OSP, in the KR [Agricultural Circle], in the GRN [Gmina People's Council] and in the Cooperative Bank."

Further on, this report contains the evaluation of POP cooperation with a rather large ZSL circle in this area. Its chairman did not come to POP meetings, despite the fact that he was invited, and avoided contact with the POP. However, for some time now there has been a new circle chairman. We must be hopeful that cooperation between the POP and the ZSL circle, especially on matters of raising the yield of marketable agricultural products of the rural community, will work out favorably.

And this matter also has its reflection in the draft plan of POP activity for 1983-1985 which has been prepared for deliberation at the reports-elections meeting. It is mentioned in Point 5 of the first section, entitled "Intraparty Activity."

Among POP achievements noted in the reports paper is the bringing about of acknowledgement from the GRN that there is a need for constructing a water-works in Sabikow and bringing it to plan. Construction will be started as early as next year. It does not have to be pointed out just how happy the rural community is.

This paper also mentions the need for building a country store. The store is now located in a building owned by a private farmer. However, recently the building was sold to another farmer for dismantling. The deadline for dismantling is March 1984. For this reason, the only store in the community may cease to exist.

But let us return to the draft plan of the program of action. The last point of the first section of this plan draws particular attention since it reminds us about the approach of the 40th anniversary of the coming into being of a division of the PPR in this rural community and the need for commemorating this even properly. The plan suggests, among other things, that an evening of recollections be organized.

Fortunately, there are people still living in the community, like Boleslaw Palica, who remember more than the PPR. After all, it is a known fact that during the between-wars period, Sabikow was termed as being "red". And this was not an accidental term because during the 1920's and 1930's, a small division of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland (prewar)] and leftist youth organizations were active here. The rural community here was under constant scrutiny. On workers holidays, red banners would appear on landowner's building sites.

The PPR division which was formed by 23 farmers, of whom a majority were stable boys, came about in 1944 following the parceling out of the local estate. Several comrades went to work in the MO [Citizens' Militia], the SB [Security Service], the army and the county party committee in order to defend the new authorities. It is not difficult to make a list of those who lost their lives defending them.

Knowing the history of this rural community, it is easier to understand the first secretary of the POP who claims that the real communists, party members of long standing whose hands were clean, the reports period was neither the worst or the most dreadful. It was worse after the liberation. At least recently no one shot at party members; it was not necessary to hide or sleep outside the house. There were those who tried to use scare tactics but they soon fell flat because they found no support in the community.

"After all, this is Sabikow." These words resounded proudly.

It is my general opinion that the comrades from both POPs, in Zabikow and Brzostowiec, which also have a rich revolutionary tradition, can be proud of their bearing and accomplishments during the reports period. On an overall basis, they deserve to be called the heirs of these traditions. They lack neither faith in their own strength nor zeal to serve their rural communities as best as possible. And this is the most important thing.

Changing Party Ideals to Concrete Action

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article]

[Text] The deliberations at the 13th Plenum of PZPR Central Committee constituted the most important event in the political life of our country. Therefore, the resolutions which were passed find themselves at the center of interest of party echelons and organizations.

It is generally pointed out that the implementation of resolutions pertaining to the ideological tasks of the party, the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, the issue of conducting a reports-elections campaign in the PZPR and the issue of cadre policy as well as the Central Committee appeal which calls the attention of society to the development of the international situation which endangers the fate of world peace, will have a very crucial meaning not only for intraparty life and its role and authority in society but will also have a serious influence on the shaping of the situation in our country.

Because of the importance of the aforementioned resolutions in the party echelons of our region, almost immediately following the conclusions of the Central Committee's session, work was begun on explaining their significance and translating the concepts contained in these documents into a language of specifics.

In Lublin, the participants of the 13th Plenum: the first secretary of the KW, Wieslaw Skrzypko, and Henryk Domzal, a member of Central Committee, met last Monday with the functional aktiv of the party from the entire province. After reporting on the plenum proceedings, the tasks of the local echelons and of the party aktiv in the reports-elections campaign in the basic, plant, gmina, city-gmina and municipal organizations of PZPR were discussed.

A similar meeting with the participation of all political workers of the KW was held in Zamosc. During the meeting, among the issues discussed were the ideological-political assumptions of reports-elections meetings in POPs. The first such meeting was held last Sunday in Plonka, gmina of Rudnik. The POP members discussed the problems of their rural community and presented proposals addressed to the gmina authorities and institutions which provide services for agriculture. In the opinion of the first secretary of the KG in Rudnik, Janusz Bertacki, and that of the director of the ROPP in Zolkiewce, Zygmunt Czapla, many of these recommendations are capable of being fully implemented.

In the Chełm Province, the first POP reports-elections meeting was held in the Glass Works in Dubieczno. The executive boards of several PZPR gmina committees conducted an evaluation of POP activity in their own region.

Intensive preparations for the start of the reports-elections campaign in basic PZPR elements are also continuing in Bielskopodlaskie Province. The meeting of the KW leadership with the socioagricultural and economic aktiv, which will be held in the next few days, will be devoted to this subject matter.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Current Status of Party

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Stanislaw Bucholc: "Where Are We?"]

[Text] The pulse of the party's ideological life is the result of activities, situations and intentions. One of its important factors is knowing how to provide an answer by the party, its members, aktiv and activists, as well as its leadership to the question: Where are we on our common road forward?

After many difficult years, this question has dominated the thoughts and minds of Polish communists and all Poles.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has provided the entire nation a comprehensive answer. Conditions and prerequisites were not always at hand; the will and the time were lacking to disseminate this complicated and correct, but optimistic answer and to make it a permanent element of daily life. In the meantime, this answer is actually becoming the beginning of the road in recognizing the complexities of Polish sociopolitical reality.

We are not only evaluating the current social or political state or form of society and the nation. We have to take a look backward in order to ascertain where we were in the implementation of our goals in building a socialist Poland. These goals and their effects were not originally planned. This is not the result of cognitive, theoretical or only party satisfaction, but should help delineate further and more clearly the goals around which we can consolidate society.

Is this an easy answer? No. Many issues have had their impact, including party neglect in theory and ideology in recent years. This neglect cannot be undone by a declaration of desire or goodwill. An additional obstacle is that it is a crisis which characterizes the current sociopolitical and economic situation, a crisis which is difficult to understand. Nevertheless, the party should provide a general, but serious answer, and not only on one occasion, but often -- even when the road contains a variety of views. That is how it can and should be among communists. The issue of defining the current level of development in Poland was the source of much discussion in

the deliberations before the current plenum of the Central Committee. A simple formula cannot weaken an evaluation of the complicated reality in our country. One thing is sure: We have implemented in Poland most of the tasks on the road from capitalism to socialism. This signifies the existence of a permanent socialist system in our economic and sociopolitical life.

Both the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic and the 35th anniversary of the party should promote this basic evaluation. In the context of the ongoing political struggle, this evaluation can provide an additional impulse which will accelerate the scientific and political research conducted by the party. It is a fact that on the basis of this research and supported by its validity and correctness, our party's documents for a future program are to be formulated. The first document is to be a declaration of a party program. Today our party needs a document indicating a future: our goals, intentions and purposes. For this reason, we want to propose at the 13th Central Committee Plenum a resolution for next year's national conference of delegates on an ideological program: "What we are fighting for and where we are going."

For a long time, party discussion has been ongoing on the substance and form of this document. Even this testifies to the importance of the difficulty and the problems which need to be solved, if only so that the evaluation of the situation can be severe and honest, while the designation of goals and tasks in building socialism is anchored in reality. This is planned to avoid divergence in words and deeds.

As a witness of the tremendous ideological, political and social role in possessing a program for the future, the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress passed a resolution on undertaking the necessary efforts for its proper preparation. A Central Committee commission has undertaken efforts both strenuous and demanding much research and particular analysis. This is without precedent in party history. Besides the scientists and theoreticians and Marxists in the latter stages of preparation, all party members and all of society should participate in this program. This should be a program of the whole party and people, built to support the goals, interests, dreams and proposals which we draw from our experiences in building socialism in our country. This is work which requires time, in-depth studies, analyses and prognoses. The commission working on the program is obligated to present the results of its efforts at a national conference of delegates. After this consultation, efforts will be continued up until the 10th PZPR Congress.

There is concern about an honest, Marxist-Leninist recognition of Polish reality; the road to socialism should be the result of Poland's own past and the party must move along this road in a self-critical manner.

We need to ask where we are at every point and place of activity. Everyone should do so every day. Above all, in order to critically verify what we have accomplished and to more correctly formulate our goals, as well as to select the most effective forms of action and instruction, we need to be aware of where we are. This will not weaken our will or strength of action, nor the

efficiency of the party. It will increase the pulse of ideological life and bring it more closely in touch with actual problems and goals which we are facing. It makes for more efficient attitudes and motives and results in dialogue and communication. It will eliminate everything which smacks of formalism and one-sidedness; it will even deal with bureaucracy at times.

We will often return to asking this question, we will be forced to answer by our comrades, colleagues, neighbors family members and even our political opponents. No one will be able to avoid the answer. Our reputation and that of the party will depend on this answer. It will determine our ideological activism.

Krakow Reports-Elections Campaign

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (bp): "The Unity of Party Activity and its Leading Role in Society Have To Be Developed in the Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] This idea was formulated at a PZPR KD [District Committee] plenum at Krakow-Krowdrza.

Yesterday's plenary deliberations of the KD in Krakow-Krowdrza covered many subjects. Participating were the first secretaries of plant committees and local basic party organizations [POP]. Among those present were: Jozef Gajewicz, party first secretary in Krakow; Kazimierz Augustynek, party secretary in Krakow; and Marian Wasilewski, director of the Krakow Center for Party Education. Tadeusz Wronski, KD first secretary, opened the deliberations with the inauguration of the new party school year. He thanked the teachers and lecturers for their efforts. Especially meritorious were Marek Chocholowski, Jozef Czekaj, Jozef Lipinski, Czeslaw Myszczyszyn and Stanislaw Poradowski. They received awards, books, presented by Jozef Gajewicz.

KD Secretary Zbigniew Radwan read the executive board report on the tasks of local party organizations in light of the resolutions of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum and the party's reports-elections campaign just beginning. KD Secretary Ryszard Bak presented the plan of political-organizational undertakings for implementing the goals of this campaign. He stated that the 2 1/2-year term of office for provincial authorities was nearing its end. "In accordance with party statutes, we are supposed to conduct a reports-elections campaign. This is inseparably tied to the continuing program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress; this program was worked out jointly by all of us. We face the need to conduct an honest evaluation of our execution of the congress' resolutions and to define further tasks and directives for action. How the party prepares for its activities, how it evaluates the attitudes of its members and what conclusions it draws for the future will qualify to a great extent the authority of the entire party."

Both in the executive board report, and in the discussion, the main goals of the campaign were highlighted. These goals included strengthening the directing and leading role of the party in society and the state, as well as its ties to the people, disseminating and implementing the ideological contents of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum, stabilizing the socio-political and economic life for the purpose of creating the conditions for overcoming rapidly the socioeconomic crisis, consolidating the party's influence among young people, and, finally, consistently including social justice in everyday life.

Discussion also covered the need to rejuvenate the party's ranks and the problems of ideologically educating the younger generation. The need to continue the meetings between Central Committee members and the comrades in party and echelon organizations was emphasized. There was discussion on the purposefulness of further defining principles covering social justice and the need to completely apply them.

Krakow's party first secretary, J. Gajewicz, gave an account of the course of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum. In his statement, he emphasized the upcoming problems arising from the 13th Plenum: the entire party needs a heightened class consciousness, greater activism and a number of factors which will enrich the party's accomplishments. People who stand on the side need to be drawn into the cooperation. There are, however, opponents with whom the party neither wishes to nor will make any accommodation. The 13th Plenum is the next phase of the road to reducing the distance between the party and a large part of the working people, on the road to tightening the bonds with the working class as a whole.

J. Gajewicz also focused attention on the need for permanent ideological instruction, inasmuch as right is not enough: party members need effective arguments when dealing with contrary opinions. He particularly stressed that the unity of all party activity must develop in the reports-elections campaign, and that the directing and leading role of the party needs to spread and grow strong; the people need to recognize the service of this role.

A resolution was also passed which stipulated that the reports-elections campaign in Krowodrza be conducted from 24 November through 5 December 1983 in the basic party, plant and school organizations. The fixed date for the district reports-elections conference is 15 December 1983.

Wroclaw, Legnica Reports-Elections Campaign

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (hsm) in Wroclaw, (kz) in Legnica: "The Reports-Elections Campaign Is the Next Step in Strengthening the Party"]

[Text] Wroclaw--A plenary meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) took place yesterday in Wroclaw. The tasks of the party provincial

organization resulting from the resolutions of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum were discussed. Comrade Tadeusz Prebski, a member of the Central Committee Politburo and KW first secretary, opened the proceedings. He emphasized that the meeting was dedicated to methods of disseminating the exclusively fine ideological tenets of the Central Committee plenum on the basis of specific and practical actions by the provincial party organization. The meeting also inaugurates the reports-elections campaign in Wroclaw and the province.

Comrade Porebski stressed: "The party has passed through a difficult period in recent years. It has passed an unusually difficult ideological, political and moral examination. It has suffered losses, but has managed to come out of repeatedly dramatic situations unscathed. It has retained its ability to act; it has consolidated and become fortified; it has become hardened; it has remained devoted to the further development of socialism in the interests of the basic force of the people--the working class and the worker-peasant bulwark. The reports-elections campaign is the next step in strengthening the party as the guiding force of the people in its socialist development."

Comrade Prebski also read the KW Executive Board report in which it was affirmed that the party has a historic, political and moral right as the people's leader. The opponents of socialism, people wishing to reconstruct an era which can never return, are attempting to undermine all these rights in a demagogic manner by falsifying history, denying obvious facts and hurling groundless accusations.

These historic rights arise because party leadership, despite its mistakes and omissions -- which everyone in the world commits -- has accomplished political, economic, social and cultural transformations of historic significance, and this through the tremendous efforts of the working class. Thanks to the political thought of the Polish left and under the leadership of the party, Poland gained independence and territory; within these just boundaries of the Piasts, Poland has found allies who guarantee these borders. Thanks to these allies, Poland can implement her national goals in peace, develop and consolidate her significant position in Europe and the world.

The party confirmed its political rights at the Ninth PZPR Congress by drawing critical conclusions from its experiences of the past few years and simultaneously developing and implementing a program of economic and constitutional reforms, despite any obstacles.

These moral rights are then based on the fact that the party has been able in complete openness and in a self-critical manner to evaluate its own mistakes and draw conclusions which are more than declarations; these conclusions have become the basis for the improvement in the party's leading role in society and in the implementation of a class policy representing workers' interests.

Not everyone in our society is aware of these facts. Social awareness is very diversified. This was emphasized by the Central Committee's 13th Plenum. The diversity in awareness and attitudes has its own historic and contemporary determining factors. We will also find the causes in the mistakes, as well as in the ideological subversion directed by both foreign centers and native opponents of socialism.

For this reason, as Comrade Porebski and other KW members stressed in their discussion, we have to be clearly aware of the fact that we cannot regard ideology abstractly as slogans acting on their own. Ideological activity by the party has to be strongly tied to the totality of economic social and political relations. The party's ideological effort will only produce positive results when it is an integral part of activity in every field of life and when it truly takes into account the interests of the working class as the vanguard of the people. The Leninist party has the obligation to mold social consciousness; above all, it needs to introduce a revolutionary awareness in the ranks of the working class in order to simplify its difficult mission of leading the nation.

In order for the ideological efforts to be able to produce the results desired from a class and socialist point of view, two conditions must be met: first, the removal of inadequacies and errors from our political and economic life and the establishment of institutional guarantees preventing their return in the future; second, the reconstruction of and growth in the offensive activity of the ideological front.

Many stereotypes are operative in the Polish consciousness, despite the fact that they are denied by reality. For instance, there is the stereotype: the friendly West and the hostile East. The degree of understanding social, political and economic mechanisms is low. The interdependence between personal effort and the satisfaction of personal material aspirations, between the collective and individual interest and between the position of the state or the prosperity of the unit and the development of democracy is not perceived.

One can refer to even more areas of ideological effort, if one considers the number of years gone by. These areas were accurately emphasized by the Central Committee's 13th Plenum. Only an open party, singleminded in action, offensively oriented and complying with Leninist principles can deal with this requirement. On the basis of democratic centralism through democratic discussion and the free and creative exchange of opinions the party will reach uniform views which are obligatory for all its members. The plenum's participants reflected on which conditions had to be met in order to reach this goal.

The reports-elections campaign will be the next step in strengthening the party and its organizations. This was emphasized during the discussion. Afterward, the last term of office has to be honestly evaluated. Special attention needs to be focused on the evaluation of resolution implementation. Both the KW and the local echelons passed many resolutions during the

discussions which took into consideration the most pressing problems facing the area's inhabitants. Internal party problems and their settlement were regarded consistently. This proves that even during this difficult period, the party has not forgotten the interests of the working people.

Connected to the fact that the reports-elections campaign had begun, the KW plenum analyzed the situation in industry, construction, market provision, agriculture, education, culture and higher institutions of learning. The real accomplishments and significant shortcomings were also highlighted. People talked about what to do so that progress would be faster, the economic reform more effectively implemented, social problems solved, and larger numbers of people more directly involved through their trade unions and front for national understanding.

The plenum also adopted a plan for observing the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic.

The KW plenum approved an evaluation presented in the KW Executive Board report on local sociopolitical and intraparty problems dealt with and solved in the past 2 1/2 years. A schedule for the reports-elections campaign was also set. A decision was made that 300 delegates would represent Wroclaw's party organization and province at the provincial conference. These delegates would be chosen on the basis of 1 for every 200 party members. The plenum also approved the activity of the executive board and KW secretariat during the period since the previous meeting of the KW plenum.

Legnica--A plenary session of the PZPR KW took place yesterday in Legnica. Comrade Jerzy Wilk, the KW first secretary, chaired the session. A key subject of the session was the political-organizational provisions of the reports-elections campaign in the party provincial organization in light of the resolutions of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum. In opening the proceedings, Comrade J. Wilk also stated that a separate plenary session of the party provincial echelon will be dedicated to party ideological tasks in the implementation of the policies of the Ninth PZPR Congress. These tasks became one of the basic themes of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum.

Before dealing with the key subject of the session, KW members were acquainted with the course and results of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum, resolutions adopted and the resulting tasks for local party organizations.

The information about this subject stressed that one of the most important tasks in the ideological arena is the dissemination of Marxist thought and an active influence on social consciousness. At the same time, the point was made that there can be no diversity between theory and practice. The Central Committee's 13th Plenum confirmed, as has been stated, the ongoing, self-executing process of strengthening the party.

The political-organizational provisions of the reports-elections campaign, presented during the plenum, envision the completion of an evaluation of party

activity for the 2 1/2-year term of office for party officials, including the provincial level. Party organizations need to evaluate the implementation of resolutions from the Ninth PZPR Congress in their own midst and to reckon with the realization of programs and demands made by party members. During the meetings, it is necessary to adopt new programs which delineate the tasks for the upcoming term of office, as well as for party groups and organizations and party members. This should create the conditions for overcoming the crisis, put pressure on the implementation of 3-year economization and anti-inflation programs, create cooperation with plant management and with young people's organizations. The settlement of letters and complaints must also take up an important position in future party activity, because people's ups and downs are reflected in these letters and complaints, as are economic initiatives and concerns.

The reports-elections campaign will also create the opportunity to acquire new cadres for party activities. The point is that responsible people who also represent various interests should end up as the new officials. They will face serious tasks, including the shaping of a new style in party work. In accordance with a resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, party elections will be conducted based on the current rules binding only during this campaign.

The members of the Central Committee plenum adopted an agenda for the reports-elections campaign. Indeed, the first meetings have already taken place in several party groups and organizations, but the real campaign will begin only after 27 October. A council of the first secretaries of all party sections and basic organizations in the province is envisioned for this date. Reports-elections meetings in party groups, sections and basic organizations will continue until the end of November. Plant, gmina, municipal-gmina, and municipal conferences will take place in the period 21 November - 21 December; on 28 December, a KW plenum will take place where materials for a provincial reports-elections conference will be confirmed and an exact date set. The third week in January 1984 is envisioned for this conference. It will be preceded by regional meetings with the delegates between 9 and 15 January 1984.

The Central Committee plenum also appointed three working teams which are to work out the materials for a provincial party conference, including a report, a projected activities' program and resolutions.

In speaking about the reports-elections campaign, KW First Secretary Jerzy Wilk stressed that party organizations should complete an evaluation of the sociopolitical situation, especially in their own areas, drawing comparisons with the general situation in the province and nationwide. The campaign should contribute to a further, internal strengthening of the party. For this reason, it is important that the prepared programs correspond to the interests of society.

During the plenum, information was presented on the implementation of socio-economic tasks in the province during the first three quarters of 1983. Industrial production is almost 10 percent higher than for the same period

last year, even though 34 plants out of 121 plants showed a decline. Productivity will grow in this period by 11.7 percent; on the other hand, employment has been reduced. Building enterprises have also achieved their desired results. They have increased their production by almost 32 percent, while general construction enterprises have increased production by 53 percent. Almost 2,000 apartments have been delivered. To be sure, that is barely 54 percent of the year's tasks, but even more new homes are promised for the fourth quarter of this year.

The plenum adopted a resolution confirming the political-organizational provisions and agenda of the party reports-elections campaign.

Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Jarkowski: "The Ninth PZPR Congress Shows the Way"]

[Text] As 1983 turns into 1984, the legally fixed time for the party to conduct reports-elections meetings and conferences, as well as the convocation of national conferences of delegates is running out. We are standing face to face with an important political campaign which, especially with regard to the nature of current tasks facing the party and society, is supposed to play a distinctive role.

The reports-elections campaigns have always been important events in the party's life; they facilitate evaluating party work and its programming and rejuvenate the cadre officials of party organizations and echelons. The campaign is beginning; it is the first one since the Ninth PZPR Congress, and it may and should become an important step in the acutalization of the congress' main program directives.

In relation to the party itself, it signifies, above all, the need to utilize all the impulses arising from the Ninth Congress' resolutions, to guarantee a truly Leninist face on the party, to strengthen its political-organizational unity and to utilize democratic discussion, the exchange of views, the critical evaluation of weaknesses and the presentation of constructive proposals as important instruments to improve party work. And the point is not only to discuss. Above all, we are talking about giving every comrade the opportunity to shape party policy and the chance to creatively participate in the implementation of this policy.

It is unusually important that whatever the party members propose in the area of improving the contents and methods of our work, finds the required resonance and produces positive effects. Such is the direction of positive changes taking place recently; these changes need to be pursued even in the upcoming campaign. For instance, it is worth keeping in mind that in a recent party reports-elections campaign, party members made some 10,700 proposals. Those responsible reviewed these proposals: the echelons and officials of party organizations aimed at utilizing this supply of initiatives

and proposals. Much gratitude was expressed. How much? It is worth pausing to reflect during the upcoming meetings and conferences on the responses.

It is an essential part of intraparty tasks connected to the campaign. The campaign's announcement caused quite a stir in party organizations and echelons. The state of party work is evaluated; individual activists and party members make evaluations; interviews are conducted.

At the reports-elections meetings and conferences there is room for party members or delegates to review the distribution of party strength and to evaluate the influence of new valuable candidates, especially from among the workers, farmers and young people. We also had the chance to apply the simple measures of party activity: the regularity and quality of party meetings, the state of realizing entrusted tasks by party members, the execution (or inadequate execution) of leadership by them in their respective environments, their activism in social organizations and the degree of influence by party elements on the attitudes of the work forces and centers.

At the meetings of party groups and organizations beginning the campaign, we should create a climate of joint responsibility so that each party element executes properly its corresponding task of leading nonparty people in the difficult work of solving basic and nationwide problems. One would think that it will be easier to deal in such a climate with a comprehensive evaluation of the political situation in particular working collectives and centers, including a complete analysis of unfavorable or negative phenomena against which it is still necessary to struggle. These negative phenomena include the activities of the opponents of socialism, disinformation, cliquishness, insensitivity, a bureaucratic relation to people's initiatives and the violation of the socialist principles of justice.

The reports-elections campaign, even if it is an event with an intraparty character, goes well beyond the party's limits in its significance. The main goals guiding the participants of the party meetings and conferences are common to the goals of the Polish working class and all patriotic-thinking Poles. For example, is not the important goal of strengthening of the leading and guiding role of the party in society and the state, as well as its ties to the nation (a goal whose realization the upcoming campaign should facilitate), concurrent with the aims of millions of working people to secure the socialist development of their country? This goal is being promoted by the upcoming campaign. At the same time, is it not totally contrary for our opponents, who constantly attack our party and who wish to undermine our socialist achievements and weaken the state, to set Poles at variance and throw up obstacles on the road to obvious stability?

In the ongoing political struggle, the contents of the party campaign have to become, above all, tasks whose implementation determine the prosperity of our country and all of us. These tasks are: the consolidation of socio-political stability, the strengthening of positive tendencies in the economy and the solution of social issues, the introduction of an economic reform and the accommodation of the aspirations and needs of working people.

The scale of these tasks and the degree of their difficulty will increase equally the significance of the evaluation of the activity level of party elements and members. There is room in the reports-elections campaign for party elements and people to conduct an honest review of the results of the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress. At the same time, it is particularly important that we draw the correct conclusions from the resulting weaknesses made clear by our analysis and include the lessons learned in the programs of our future activities. It is often the case that the inadequate political activity of party members is the result of poorly organized party work. How to work better -- this should be the main theme of the campaign.

By intensifying the work of individual people and elements, we want to enhance party strength in every center.

12247
CSO: 2600/275

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Handles Important Problems

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 5-6 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by (z.d.): "Openly About Difficult Problems" /

/Text/ The matters which now are most disturbing to the inhabitants of Tarnobrzeg Province, which are discussed in the workplace, in the queues, and at home are the daily pains and problems which must be solved in the near future. These were the topics of discussion during yesterday's meeting of regional political and administrative government representatives and trade unionists. This meeting with the representatives of enterprise trade unions in the province was attended by the PZPR KW /Provincial Committee/ first secretary, Janusz Basiak, and the provincial governor, Col Boguslaw Jazwiec.

The trade unionists fully utilized this opportunity to present their problems which, at this time, are shared by most of the work force. They presented a picture of the moods of the communities in which they work in a calm and straightforward manner. A recurring theme in almost every speech was the matter of bringing back controls on butter. With this as a background, much was said about working out and implementing a system of consultations on government decisions that are important to the average citizen. Up to this time, the practices in this field have not satisfied society and have been negatively thought of by trade unionists. Many decisions and regulations still surprise the citizen. Customers of meat shops, for example, were disturbed by the ~~unannounced~~ sale of sausages on the condition that an identical weight of unboned beef be purchased. In some shops, it was said, meat without the bone was sold. This shows that the regulations are not even well known by the sales people. The supply situation to the meat shops was criticized. Supply, distribution and sales methods were themes in many speeches. In view of the worsened supply situation to the meat shops, it was proposed that sales hours be changed to allow shopping after working hours.

Another matter raised by many trade unionists concerned construction. This was chiefly housing construction together with the trade infrastructure, and investment in education. Especially active were representatives of the ZNP /Polish Teachers' Union/ in alerting us to the critical situation and deplorable conditions in the educational centers in Slalowa Wola, Jarocin and Bojanow. Many

local problems were discussed. Pointed out were examples of still existing bad management, autocratic style of management, bureaucratic approaches to citizens' problems which manifest themselves in interpretations of regulations for the convenience of the administration. Many questions and comments were answered by the governor, Col Boguslaw Jazwiec. He announced, among other things, the introduction of registration of meat ration cards at the meat stores. On the subject of housing construction, including schools, there is an ongoing debate within the framework of consultations on the plan for the next several years. It is well known that this region cannot support more than 27 construction projects. The most important thing is to locate them where they are most needed. The trade unionists we will receive written answers to all detailed questions and comments.

Taking the podium, the first secretary of the PZPR KW, Janusz Basiak, stated that this meeting with the trade unionists was not merely a courtesy call. "The government does not need praise," concluded the KW first secretary, promising that meetings of this type will be organized systematically in the future. He informed those present about activities started through the initiative of the provincial party echelon, activities which aim to solve the most pressing problems of the region.

Reports-Elections Campaign on Party Members

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 2

/Article by (DAK): "Before the Reports-Elections Campaign at Cora Enterprise--We Can Count on Those Who Have Endured"/

/Text/ During the last few years many people have left the party, some who should not have been in it in the first place; others whom we miss more also left, but those who have endured we can count on. This is the way active members of the enterprise party organization at the Cora ZPO assess the situation on the day before the reports-elections campaign.

"We are not just talking about organizational discipline," says Anna Zacny KZ /Factory Committee/ secretary for propaganda and director of the enterprise Information, Propaganda, and Culture Center, "but about the attitude toward work obligations. The view is spreading that party members must also be good workers. We are aware of the fact that every instance we stumble is twice noticed. At the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee much emphasis was placed on tying ideology to practice. I believe that the best expression of this is good work."

"This does not mean that we are ignoring ideological schooling. Awareness is the basis for party action. We will encourage self-education and we have arrived at a resolution to have each party member commit himself to prepare a topic for schooling. We do not know how this will turn out, but I must say that we have had some difficulty in securing good lecturers. Perhaps we can find some talented people among ourselves and thus shape our own lectures?"

"I can see three important matters which have come out of the report of the 13th Plenum that should be discussed at the reports-elections meetings,"

continues Mieczyslawa Bartosik, an inspector of finished goods and member of the K2. "First, the party should create a front to battle bureaucracy which stifles worker initiative and formalizes life; second, to continually demand respect for the worker and his work; third, to gain influence in improving the functioning of management, so that the settlement of a small matter does not become a great annoyance. Here in the workplace we have improved cooperation with the management. The party organization participates in decisions, as in filling management positions and the division of premium pay. The KZ secretary participates in management meetings. We have a feeling of participation in enterprise matters, while the management can exercise greater authority, a result of the economic reform."

"I'd like to say something about the reform," interrupts Wanda Szczesniewska, KZ secretary for organizational matters and a technologist by profession. "I believe that since the party initiated the economic reform, it is responsible for consistently bringing it to life. Also, here in the workplace with us I see, for example, the need for supporting the efforts in improving work organization. We must implement methods for rewarding good ideas and good organizers in this field. Another task for the party is to guard social justice under the tighter conditions brought on by the reform. Better pay for better work, this is obvious. But at our meetings we are asked: 'While we make quality goods why don't we earn more than those who make junk? Why are the people who have finished their higher education at government expense not paying this debt back to society? Why is it that during the crisis so many people can live so well, because it is not known how they do it, since they are now working?'"

"Is it fair that in comparison to pay, the prices of many basic products are so high?" asks Janina Ciechanowicz, a production controller, member of the KZ. "I am not talking about rugs or automatic washers, for in my opinion they are not basic products. I can get along without rugs and was in a centrifugal washer. But a refrigerator is necessary in every household, just see how much one costs! How difficult it is to get shoes, linen, even an ordinary flatiron.... This is discussed among the women in the workplace and it causes much bitterness. We do our work well, we want to get the most necessary things for the money we earn, we are waiting for this."

Campaign in Local Party Organization

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 4

/Article by (sna): "The Reports-Elections Campaign Continues in the City Party Organization"/

/Text/ The reports-election campaign continues in the city party organization. To date there have been over 30 meetings in organizations that are directly subordinate to the KM /City Committee/ PZPR. In the election of first secretaries in the POP /Basic Party Organizations/ first timers make up 60 percent.

In accordance with the accepted rules, meetings of party groups should take place by 10 November, meetings of the POP and OOP /Departmental Party Organizations/ by the 30th of the current month, and enterprise conferences by 10 December 1983.

The city reporting-electoral campaign conferences should conclude by the end of December 1983.

The meetings and conferences will choose a new assortment of organs for party control. Open registration of candidates for governing posts and delegates should occur after deep and responsible evaluation. Free expression of comments and opinions, the announcement of the decisions made by votes on procedural questions and the selection of officers should serve the development of intra-party democracy and act against instances of formalism. An atmosphere of seriousness and understanding is necessary for this, so that the results of the elections will decide the realization of the tasks accepted in the reports-elections meetings and conferences.

Keeping in mind the POP postulates about assuring the widest possible representation of their communities at the forum of the city conference, the executive organ of the KM has proposed the adoption in this year's reports-elections campaign of the formula of 1 delegate for every 70 members. In total, this would produce 300 delegates for the city conference.

In this way, at 22 workplace, school, and community conferences 138 delegates would be chosen; at the meetings of independent POPs, which number over 70 members and candidates, 60 delegates; at meetings of linked POPs, 102 delegates. The city party organization will be represented at the provincial reports-elections conference by 132 delegates, in this 13 chosen directly at the enterprise conferences at the FSC /Truck Factory/ and PKP /Polish State Railway/.

Campaign Meetings Neither Quiet Nor Boisterous

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by R. Augustyn: "The Reports-Elections Campaign in the PZPR Continues, Meetings Neither Quiet Nor Boisterous"/

/Text/ The reports-elections campaign which started after the 13th Plenum in the units of the PZPR has entered the level of party groups. In many city-gmina organizations, especially the more numerous ones, the meetings of the basic and departmental organizations are well advanced. To obtain information and get some initial impressions we turned to the secretaries of several committees.

Leslaw Reterski, substitute director of the ROOP /Regional Party Work Center/ in Dekzierzyn-Kozle, decided on the basis of information from several POP meetings, which have occurred, that the discussion concerns mostly the nearby workplace area. This is not dominated by concerns about nuts and gaskets, but by concern about wider matters, those being the acts of the party that would lead to an end of the crisis. The criticism was confined almost entirely to the workplace except for last week when the butter scandal broke. Characteristic at these meetings was honest reporting, often in person, by those POP members, who fill leadership posts in the party and enterprise management. According to the directives of the KM each meeting starts not just with the secretary's report but also with a report by the enterprise director on the state of the economy and an accounting of resolutions and comments during the term.

Most often there are no objections for the realization of the above-mentioned. Much is said about trade unions, in the resolutions of the six POPs there were assignments for party members which aimed at increasing their activites in the trade unions.

Wlodzimierz Bojak, KZ secretary at the Kedzierzyn Nitrate Works, informs us that meetings have concluded in all 164 party groups. In many of them, the less active ones, the meetings were limited to elections, but many held discussions. Also chosen were comrades who at POP meetings will be candidates for enterprise conference delegates. It is difficult to draw conclusions from the two POP meetings that have taken place. The only known fact is that three POPs will be inducting new PZPR members at the meetings.

Dionizy Duszynski, KM-G /City-Gmina Committee/ secretary in Brzeg, personally attended OOP and POP meetings which have occurred in about 15 percent of the organizations. He is satisfied with the attendance and happy that the meetings are neither quiet nor boisterous, with one-sided criticism of the upper administration. A lot of concern is shown by the speakers about strengthening the party role in their enterprise, and about the common responsibility for the development of trade unions. A thorough accounting of the results from the ongoing campaign shows that even though the results are viewed critically they are not slight, much was done to restore stability to workplace structures, to reclaim the party leadership role. It is time to move in a more aggressive manner. During the elections about half of the secretaries were replaced. It is satisfying to note that the members of the city-gmina echelon regularly receive the mandate of the delegates at higher level conferences.

Marian Magdziarz, first secretary of the KM-G PZPR in Prudnik, has the best view of the situation for in his district 20 meetings of the POP and several OOP meetings have taken place. The attendance was satisfactory and there were no problems in finding those willing to fill the secretarial and executive organ positions. According to expectations, the discussion had the character of a housekeeping debate devoted to intraparty and workplace matters. After the 13th Plenum there were several ideological subjects. In the resolution much is said about activating party schooling, about assigning tasks to individual party members, training the youth, the need for strengthening the party social infrastructure which consists of trade unions, PRON and youth organizations. In all, the discussions were conducted peacefully, but were filled with critiques and concern for the tasks awaiting the party. "A little oil, or rather butter, was poured on the fire by Minister Greed, but we have hope," states M. Magdziarz, "that this incident will not affect the campaign seriously. The important thing is the information that in the course of these meetings 16 candidates were inducted into the party, mainly from the medium and smaller enterprise organizations."

12411

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PROVINCIAL PARTY REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN NOTED

Reflections on Campaign Meetings

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by (ig): "Reflections on Reports-Elections Meetings in POP's; Judge for Yourself"]

[Text] The reports-elections meetings of the OOP's [branch party organization] and POP's [primary party organization] are occasions for making discriminating evaluations of the current achievements of the organizations and determination of directions of activity in the future. This is a very important task and a meaningful one for the party. The spirit of socialist renewal requires a return to Leninist standards of party life, democracy and critical evaluation of ambient circumstances. It is not surprising that stormy discussions during the meetings conducted refer to errors which have been committed. It is very good for us to fervently look for the bad and irregular around us. However, let us not forget self-criticism. Obviously this is difficult to accept, and not everyone has the courage to acknowledge his own slips and mistakes publicly. But self-criticism is one of the basic obligations of a party member. During the stormy period of the past 2 years he has not often been praised, but this does not mean that he has been forgotten. It is worth recalling that possession of a PZPR membership card has obligations. An honest party member is a man aware, politically fashioned, a booster of Marxist ideas, and ready to defend party policy.

Does everyday behavior correspond to this theory? The majority of the time it does, although not always and not everywhere. The term approaching its end has distinctly demonstrated that the attitudes of some comrades not only deviate from ideological principles, but also arouse serious doubts of a moral nature. Some comrades did not manage to defend the party interests boldly and courageously in times difficult for it. They adopted shaky political attitudes and, by their behavior, upset other comrades as well as nonparty people. How many times at meetings in manufacturing plants did they vote on judicious programs, thrift and better work productivity, waging a bitter battle against bad work, while the same party members participating in the voting later squandered public property, forgot about rule and order in their position, or actually cooperated in organizational confusion? Most of the time responsibility for such a state of affairs falls upon incompetent leadership, although the causes of evil should

be sought deeper, in ourselves as well. The authority of organization has dropped in this atmosphere of apathy embracing the party and of words deviating from facts.

At the 13th Central Committee Plenum it was decided to accord a higher rank than in the past to ethical questions, to attitudes and to the behavior of party members. This is because morality and ethics are basic in the process of socialist renewal. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski has started, among other things, that to be a communist is to learn and to teach others, to obey and to explain to people what is most important for Poland and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Following this thought, the party members today are expected to take definite attitudes and to increase their engagement in ideological matters and the problems permeating the environment closest to them. A PZPR member cannot be passive in the face of opinions hostile to socialism and Poland, he cannot brush off waste or poor work organization, nor can he contribute to making it worse. Party activity and its authority in every environment depends on active involvement in ideological and political matters, and on the desire conscientiously to perform the obligations deliberately accepted and decisions in accord with regulations. Authority is not brought by slogans. It must be developed by conscience, ethics and active social attitudes.

During the reports-elections campaign we have intently examined the minuses of our organizations and have tried to find the source of the failures. When the opportunity presents itself, let us try to evaluate our own attitudes, to make a thorough analysis and to draw conclusions which will enable us to represent the line and policy of our party properly.

Workers Comment at Campaign Meetings

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 1

[Comments by Joachim Mandrela, Pawel Bizub and Jerzy Bulacz: "At My PZPR Reports-Elections Meeting I Said"]

[Text] What Upsets Our Life

Comrade Joachim Mandrela, a member of the OOP-10 and a face electrician in the face sections of the Bobrek Mine in Bytom, said:

Like many of my colleagues, I live in Karb, not near the mine. Therefore I did not think that in the reports-elections meeting we could overlook the problems with which we live every day, especially in this district. Therefore I spoke about what upsets our life, and connected this with the demolition of the northern part of Karb. The demolition deprived us, for example, of two butcher shops and one bread shop. It is true that there is a general food store nearby, but it has too few of the regulated goods. Therefore we have to go to the Bytom center or to neighboring Bobrek. It should be possible to establish some temporary food stands or something of this type. Then no one would complain that people have to travel around through the whole town. Not everyone has someone at work who can help out in the daily shopping.

Now the People Say: Give Us Work

Comrade Pawel Bizur, a foreman and OOP member in the Sorting Department of the Light Metal Factory in Kety, said:

All of us in the factory are waiting for the government to draft a change in the wage system. But it is quite apparent that the shop organization is not waiting for this. Already functioning among us in some departments is a new incentive system. And what is happening? It is possible to relate wages to work. For example, the previous expert bonus came to 400-500 zlotys. Who earned such a bonus? Nobody. A good worker could work well and a loafer could absent himself from work for half a month, because these 400 zlotys amounted to nothing.

Now the people feel that they can earn something because when the boss gives an additional 2,000 zlotys per month, the worker adds up that he will earn an additional 24,000 during the year, and begins to think that he is really appreciated. Now the same people are going to the foreman and saying, "Give us work."

It is also easier for the boss to direct and demand discipline. It is clear that the ones who will get the bonus will complain less than others. But, when it is said that "like work, like pay," the party must see that there is no favoritism in the division of this money, and that everyone sees that what he gets is just. The people will also judge us by this.

And when the pay plans come down from above, they must be adjusted to our conditions in order to be just.

One thing more: it no longer pays to be an efficiency expert. He is paid too little for the results. This is true. But there is another side to the coin. The other is the fact that there are so many documents to be filled out to justify the results that people do not want to submit the justification outline. In addition, the introduction is taking so long that the people are becoming irritated.

Milk Must Not Be Wasted

Comrade Jerzy Bulacz from Biala Dolna, a worker in the Dairy Cooperative in Klobuck, said:

The decision on restoring the regulation of fats, including butter, is still being discussed in a lively way.

From many years of experience I know the work of the commercial administration, and dairy matters are familiar to me from current work. Therefore I spoke during the discussion. In the entire supply of milk and milk products, the most important problem is not selling the milk, because this has been increasing from year to year for many years, but processing problems: the structure of small farms and thousands of suppliers on the one hand and the large dairy on the other. This should be the other way around, fewer large dairies and more small ones. Besides this, there has been talk for years of the shortage of cooling

equipment and the possibility of preserving milk in the summer. Sugar mills are capable of processing the raw material in a short time. Dairies have problems during the summer with selling milk, and do not have the capability of processing it. Now the farmers are saying at the meetings: "In summer you look for a pretext to return slightly soured milk, and now there is a shortage of butter." The same cooperatives are not solving dairy investment problems. There is a shortage of money and prices are official. Another way out must be found. It is not possible to wait for dairy processing. At our party meeting we recognized the fact that these problems must be taken up quickly at higher levels of authority.

Campaign Covers Important Matters, Problems

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (rk): "Reports-Elections Campaign in the PZPR; Most Important Matters and Problems; Evaluation of Attitudes and Stands; New Party Candidates; Closer to People and Environment; Programs for Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Reports-elections meetings of branch and basic party organizations are being held in our region. They provide an occasion to analyze activity during the past term and, simultaneously, to define the position and role of the party in factories and various environments. On this basis programs for the further consistent realization of the Ninth Congress resolutions are being adopted.

During the discussions the attention of the PZPR members, working both in the city and in the country, is concentrated on the most important matters of their factories, environments and the country. In particular, a great deal of attention is being dedicated to production and working problems, the solution of which will determine good and effective work. In bringing up these important matters, reference is made to the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum respecting the forms and methods of party action and the awareness and activities of party members.

In Bialystok Province, where there are 1,900 basic and branch organizations and 126 party groups, the meetings have already taken place in 347 organizations and in 27 groups. Attendance has been at the level of 75-80 percent and, in the Bielsk Podlaski gmina, within the limits of 90 percent. Almost every other participant at the meetings speaks.

It should be stressed that the attitudes and stands of party members are being analyzed quite critically, and in particular the question of fulfilling obligations. Cases of improper attitudes, and indifferences as well, are leading to cancellation and dismissal from the party. On the other hand the party organizations are accepting into their ranks new people who in their professional work and public activity give proof of their support of the Ninth Congress program line. The fact that the party program is convincing more and more people can be shown by the example of ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] in Lapy, where 7 workers, who gave up their membership cards in 1981, have returned

to party membership again. With respect to the course of elections, in many cases the same comrades, proven in solid party and professional work, have been elected to the administrative boards and to the position of first secretary. Nevertheless, for example, in Bialystok, there have been complete changes in the administrative boards and secretary positions in many organizations.

In the Suwalki Voivodship the meetings have already been held in 230 party organizations, including 56 Gazycko region organizations. The reports-elections campaign is most advanced in the countryside, construction and industry.

Problems associated with realization of the economic reform, cooperation with workers self-government and trade unions, and the role of party members in forming attitudes of patriotic involvement are coming to the fore in party factory organizations. The programs of activity adopted defined tasks for the purpose of intensifying the activity of party organizations.

Campaign Covers Important People Matters

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (W. Jur.): "As Close as Possible to People Matters"]

[Text] Reports-elections meetings of PZPR POP's have been held this week in many factories. More than programs of activity for the future and an evaluation of the past term of the administrative boards are being discussed at them. Problems are being recognized in the discussions which are very close to the party members, matters of people complaints, difficulties and troubles occurring in our daily life. These subjects, in addition to other problems, dominated the meetings in two PZPR OOP's in the Municipal Office.

In KBO-1, party members turned their attention to the fact that shortcomings in apartments handed over to the people of Szczecin are caused by poor work organization and administration, and by a lack of supervision. They have decided to wage an intense war against this phenomenon, mustering in it as many people from the work forces as possible. The party building workers assert that it is time to eliminate the many millions in losses borne by KBO-1 because of shortcomings, and that it is high time to give the people solidly built apartments.

Economic problems occupied a large part of the discussions at the reports-elections meeting in the Rumun Nabrzeze OOP in the port of Szczecin. They said that a rapid renewal and modernization of the technical background of the port is necessary. During the discussions many people referred to matters going beyond port problems. For example, they made a critical judgment of the method used in the recent restoration of regulation of fats.

In the Szczecin Repair Shipyard the PZPR reports-elections meeting took place in OOP-11, OOP-4 and OOP-2. The shipyard workers brought to the party forum the matter of wages as an incentive factor in more efficient work. The organization of repair work on the ships also took up a lot of the PZPR member statements.

The party meetings of the current reports-elections campaign are also taking place in the Szczecin Voivodship, including the school POP. Thus, in the Agricultural Mechanization Schools Grove in Pyrzyce, party teachers reflected on the future of their professional organization, the Union of Polish Teachers.

In the Luxpol Knitting Industry Plants in Stargard, speakers at the meeting in OOP-3 mentioned that proposals directed by party and nonparty workers to the plant administration must be accomplished in the anticipated time periods. They particularly referred to simple improvements of machinery.

Questions of influencing the social awareness of all working people occupied just as much time as economic problems and methods of escaping from difficulties. They must see the party as an ally in their affairs. To achieve this the PZPR members should provide an example by their solidarity and conscientiousness, and by their moral attitudes.

It is characteristic that at the majority of meetings the function of OOP secretaries was entrusted to people who were elected in the previous reports-elections campaign, which was held before the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress. This proves that the people chosen then have been able to earn the confidence of party members, and often nonparty people, during the past years.

6806
CSO: 2600/357

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Cadre Responsibility

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 4

/Article by Stefan Kurecki/

/Text/ If you are not capable, don't push for...a post! However, somehow it happens that before taking a post everyone pulls out his official mace and begins to soliloquize: I, only I have the qualifications, the predispositions, the credits, and people respect me. And then after taking the post? The test results vary, because the opinion that a post (at least that of director) provides only privileges, glamor and honors has leveled out somewhat. Rarely--and I am familiar with life--does a candidate for a post ask himself the simplest of questions: am I capable, is it beyond my power, can I carry this responsibility?

The directors of the capital's ZUS /Social Security Agency/ were not capable of carrying this responsibility. They explained publicly and unceremoniously that the computer was at fault, and that they had to make use of abacuses and ballpoint pens in redetermining disability payments and pensions. Though the computer did not say a word--in the end it won out. To wit, it was relieved of all guilt and, consequently, responsibility as well. Whereas, the directors departed. We are now awaiting other departures, at least from the posts that have people responsible for building the Oncology Center where, upon seeing the disorder, General Jaruzelski openly remarked: "These are scandalous and intolerable conditions." But, after all, these are not isolated instances. We will quote a few more as follows. At the Wegrowo milk plants, the Citizens' Militia estimated losses due to waste at 10 million zloty, 5 million zloty at the Zdunsk Engineering Enterprise (the construction of a main drain in Praszka), in the Ozarow and Chelm II cement plants 400 tons of cement was wasted, spilling it out onto the roads. Moreover, the Packaging Research and Development Center acknowledges that there is a great deal of negligence in packaging products for export. With exports amounting to 830 billion zloty, losses come to 20 billion zloty. Losses of these sorts are assessed in the world at 2 percent of the value of exports, and in our country they approach 10 percent.

Responsibility. A word that has its own definitions in work ethics, in economy, organization, and also in law. It would seem that there is no misunderstanding in this respect, and yet experience teaches that there is a great gap between theory and practice. Why do we have such serious problems with exercising responsibility. Is it in sympathy for people? Dismissing people from their posts never was one of the simple decisions--and there are always some accommodating circumstances of one kind or other that can be found. If it is not difficulties in impartiality then...credits received so far. If it is not a matter of a wife or children, then it is the lack of enough hands to do the work, absenteeism, discipline, etc. As a result, an ironic but socially bitter saying has been circulating about the "washing away of responsibility."

The consequence: a disbelief in consistent execution of responsibility has arisen in society and that is why working people expressed themselves so strongly in their protests of 1980-81; and at the same time, society as a whole greeted warmly and with hope the establishment of military Regional Operation Groups and their deployment with the object of checking our sense of reality, and determining conclusions, those of personnel among them. It is this kind of trust society had in military officers; and what a trust in the enforcement of control in the provinces by the Chief Control Inspectorate of the WP /Polish Army/! Now, society next listened intently to each word on this topic of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, and especially those which were precisely in reference to responsibility. If, after all, we were to have success and, after all, we must be successful, therefore, if we were to have success in instilling a sense of everyone being responsible for his own portion of work, then surely it would be a great deal better in our country. Not only would pensioners and people on disability payments in our capital's province receive their due revalorations on time but there would be less waste of manhours, there would be more goods, etc...and more hard currency from foreign trade.

The 13th Plenum was not a disappointment.

The 13th Plenum declared: the principle of responsibility must stand at the base of the entire policy on personnel. We find a commentary to this responsibility in an interview in the TRYBUNA LUDU given by Tadeusz Dziekan, chief of the Department of Cadres. He informed us that through party initiative a wide rotation of personnel was carried into effect. In toto, 2,420 changes of posts were made, 650 of which were changes of posts in large work establishments.

This is a good symptom of the times.

One should interpret it in the following manner, that no one is irreplaceable in his post; also, a post does not have to be a springboard upwards but, to be precise, it can also lead downward, in keeping with the principle of "the proper person for the proper place." Of course, it has to be added that such a policy cannot be based on fear in relation to people. Its goal is only to instill an awareness that no one can count on reduced rates, the shutting of eyes, but should always count on the privilege of a just though rigorous evaluation. The basic truth looks like this: We will never come out of the crisis without the introduction of the principles of responsibility.

Assessment of Polish-Soviet Society

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 11 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by Mik/

/Text/ It was atypical because the ninth provincial reports-elections conference of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship /TPPR/ began in Koszalin with a performance by the WZSR /Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives/ Zlote Klosy Choir. It took place yesterday in the conference hall of the Provincial Administrative Office.

Taking part in the conference were 105 delegates who were selected in gminas and cities, members of the society's retiring provincial leaders, and invited guests. Also present were representatives of political and administrative authorities, including the secretary of the PZPR KW /Provincial Committee/ in Koszalin, Roman Wojcik, of social, youth, veteran, educational and cultural organizations, as well as representatives of the Main Office /ZG/ of the TPPR in Warsaw and the TPPR ZW /Provincial Office/ in Slupsk. Representatives of the Soviet Northern Group of Forces and the consul of the consulate general of the USSR in Szczecin, Evgenii Petrovich Popov, were present. A report of the activities of the society in Koszalin was given by the president of the ZW, Boleslaw Bielankiewicz. Among other things, he spoke of difficulties with which the society had to grapple in popularizing the idea of friendship between the Polish nation and the Soviet Union during the past 5 years.

At the suggestion of the ZW TPPR, the National Council decorated Franciszek Bulczynski, Waldemar Kucharski, and Tadeusz Ostrowski with Knight's Crosses of the Order of the Restoration of Poland, and Stanislaw Zielinski with the Golden Cross of Merit.

Honorary awards for services in the development of Koszalin Province were given to Anna Jaszczuk, Stanislaw Kiszkiel, Walentyna Lukowska and Czeslaw Rozycki.

The history of Polish-Soviet friendship was brought up in the discussions. The little activity of TPPR circles was criticized. Also, the inadequate popularization of profits flowing from economic and trade cooperation with the USSR was discussed.

Also mentioned were good examples of work by the society's circles and active members, and the direct, daily cooperation with Soviet people staying in our country. A fine example of this could be, no less, Bialogard and Szczecinek. As far as Bialogard is concerned, the population of the city is aware of the unselfish help of Soviet doctors. On the other hand, in Szczecinek, direct contacts of young students with Soviet youth deserve attention. Young people from the Mechanical Schools' Ensemble are leaders in this.

The delegates, representatives of a TPPR provincial membership 26,000 strong, elected a new provincial administration, a board of control, and delegates to the 11th TPPR Congress.

Boleslaw Bielankiewicz was chosen chairman of the ZW once more.

Gdansk, Elblag Party Meetings

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 11 Nov 83 p 2

/Articles by j and md/

/Text/ The quality of goods, construction works or services rendered to people--these are the topics of conversation which evoke wide social response every day. Accompanying this is a sharp and, one could say, universal criticism directed at the producers of shoddy merchandise which can be found on the market, the low standard of products, also a series of neglect and technological shortcomings which in many instances generate a waste of raw materials or have clients and customers run the risk of buying and consuming products below value while their prices are the same as for articles of high quality.

The analytical materials prepared for yesterday's executive board meetings of the PZPR KW in Gdansk relating to production quality of national cooperative enterprises from Gdansk Province provided many examples confirming public opinions and the large order of justified dissatisfaction contained within them concerning the state of the quality of goods placed on the market and services rendered. For example, the market production of products (tape recorders) manufactured by Unitra-Magmar was permitted in spite of the negative test results they showed. At Unimor in Gdansk, many televisions which quickly break down find their way to the market because of low requirements for designated factory standards.

The same is true in the line of food products. General complaints about the quality of our baked goods have been confirmed by inspections made by the District Inspectorate of the PIH /State Institute of Hygiene/. The quality of baked goods this year has worsened compared to last year. In the first half of this year, as much as 25 percent of all lots of baked goods inspected were questionable. In addition, also as a result of an inspection of the quality of cured meat products, 5½ tons of the products (value--1.23 million zloty) were not allowed to be sold. A large percentage of milk products also do not conform to standards of quality.

In discussing the submitted appraisals of the quality of production and services of enterprises and cooperatives in Gdansk Province, the executive board of the KW also became familiar with a critical opinion on this topic formulated by three KW commissions on problems (Economic Policy, Town Administration Buildings, and Trade and Services) and also observations and proposals introduced by representatives of inspectors invited to yesterday's meeting.

During the discussion, the KW executive board expressed its anxiety, stating the fact that in comparison with last year's results a total change for the worse followed this year in the quality of production and services in Gdansk Province, as a result of which there was a rise in losses borne by particular establishments, thereby the national economy as well (costs for guaranteed repairs, economic consequences in the way of price reductions on some articles reclassified to Group 2, deductions in favor of the State Treasury, and the like). Moreover, society also directly bore the costs because of bungling work and a low quality of services as well as production of industrial articles and food products.

Such a situation can no longer be tolerated--it has been emphasized many times at the executive meeting of the KW--where such high costs of bad work, second-rate production or also dishonest work because of noncompliance with quality requirements or simple slovenliness and breaking of discipline should be further borne by the economy as well as society directly. That is why much attention was devoted to discussing undertakings /text missing/ to Group 2 and at the same time lower prices, and the like), until the market refuses to accept shoddy quality that does not comply with standards.

At the same time, the KW executive board brought attention to the fact that the reasons for the worsening of the situation in this area are basically a result of insufficient supervision in the production process and the relaxation in technological and social-production discipline. That is also why people who are responsible for production, who allow articles of inferior quality on the market that do not conform to standards should be mentioned by name and publicly condemned at party meetings, at personnel meetings, as well as in the press, radio and TV. The Consumers' Federation should also take on these tasks on a broader scale.

In conjunction with this, the KW executive board detailed a series of specific proposals which intend to undertake a broad and fierce struggle with the purpose of improving the quality of products and services through the enforcement of obligatory rules, standards and requirements in this sphere. At yesterday's meeting, the KW executive board acquainted itself with the current market situation caused by increases--a result of rumors about a so-called regulation of cleaning agents--in purchases of laundry powders and soap. These purchases have risen rapidly in the last few days (nearly five times as much powder and three times as much soap) and they continue to be high in spite of the fact that they are beginning to show a downward trend. The accumulation of stocks of these products in warehouses and current increased deliveries by industry guarantee the satisfaction of the present unwarranted needs for large purchases caused by a rumor that was believed by many people.

* * *

The executive board of the PZPR KW in Elblag acquainted itself yesterday with the sociopolitical situation in the region.

No incidents, it was maintained, were noted of late. However, the unfortunate decision in the matter of returning to controls on fats caused some excitement and bitterness.

During the last 10 months of the current year, the number of crimes in Elblag Province fell four percent in comparison with the same period last year, and their detection has increased. Breakins of business establishments, automobiles and apartments dominate. A high level of alcohol consumption continues to be maintained. As of the beginning of the year, the MO /Civil Militia/ intervened in the province in 23,000 cases of disturbances of the peace because of a state of intoxication. This year in Elblag 3,123 persons were detained in the sobering room and 2,116 intoxicated individuals were arrested. Safety on the roads of Elblag has become somewhat worse.

Next, the KW executive board reviewed the state and perspectives for the development of post office and telecommunication services in the region, which now has 144 post offices and telecommunication centers in the Elblag area. Personnel of the Provincial Post Office number almost 1,200 people and a staff shortage of about 100 is estimated. The operational state of the majority of the buildings is not good. The lack of transportation facilities is making itself felt--including those for the provision of services, and also tires, storage batteries and spare parts. Fuel allotments are inadequate.

In the communications system in the province, there are 100 telephone exchanges serving 21,607 subscribers, of which 93 percent are in cities. Four exchanges operate in interurban trunkline traffic. There is a shortage of installed instruments making itself felt in all cities but above all in the country.

This year in Elblag, Rakowo, a new automatic exchange, was turned over for use with a capacity of 3,000 numbers which is being followed-up with an expansion of another 4,000 numbers. A third stage of its expansion is expected as well. In Paslek, an 800 number manual exchange was replaced by an automatic one with a capacity of 1,200 numbers. Besides this, communications were automated in the Malbork-Nowy Dwor-Malbork hookup. By 1985, among others, the expansion of Rakowo already mentioned and the construction of an exchange in Kwidzyn, Ostaszewo and Pieniezno are planned, as well as starting the construction of such structures in Malbork and Orneta. The construction of an exchange in Susz will be undertaken if it receives the equipment now being used in Bydgoszcz.

In the course of the discussion, the executive board stated that there are still more complaints about the work of the post office and telephone communications. Still, these are shortcomings that can be eliminated, above all, through a greater involvement in the performance of one's duties. Members of the party should lead in this.

The KW executive board expressed its gratitude to the workers of the post office and in telecommunications for results so far, while stressing the need for a quick elimination of existing defects in the functioning of this cog.

In the next item, the KW executive board examined and received materials for the next KW plenum announced for Monday, the 14th of this month. It will be dedicated to discussing celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the PRL /Polish People's Republic/ as a factor of ideological-indoctrinal stimulation for political activity.

Review of Party Ranks

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 83 p 3

/Article by Ludwik Krasucki/

/Text/ The reports-elections campaign has begun. It is the final and, this time, particularly exacting test of the maturity of the party ranks. They have already taken place, in general, with significant attendance and activity by participants, first group sessions as well as departmental and primary organizations in different milieus. In the following weeks there will be more

and more of them: the campaign is taking place at a slow pace, but deadlines must be kept. Experience teaches that the party cannot occupy itself with the expense of many different and, as a rule, difficult tasks facing it. Today the agenda for the coming months and the entire year at hand is laden with extremely binding entries. The point is to take them on in an orderly and well thought out manner, in uniform order, with a lively and even rhythm of party activity.

Many tasks remain in the economy. In spite of improvements achieved, the road to getting over the crisis and its effects, the introduction and improvement of reform continues to be beset with obstacles. Each day a battle is waged for increasing vitally necessary production for the country and for export, for its quality and the lowering of costs, not wasting raw materials and other materials, for rebuilding the market, for breaking the impasse in apartment construction. Each day a battle is waged so that working people might pass through this period with as little loss possible in the standard of life, that the way of life of the groups situated worst materially be effectively protected.

The measure and social significance of what we are doing in the economy are today straightforward and tangible. But not everyone realizes this. We have to continually deal with a bureaucratic or technocratic treatment of the economy as one's own personal bailiwick with an understanding of its problems restricted to one's self alone. Longstanding habits of the intentional easy task and arrogance as well as the immediate leftovers from the period of anarchy are standing in the way. Old intentions still not uprooted as well as new ones breeding within the holes of the reform stand in the way; and there are attempts to whisper privately the sinister slogan: "work like a tortoise." The area of the economy, the functioning of government offices as well as schools and colleges, all the service elements for public needs are a national ground for party inspiration, critical appraisal and inspection. Today, in this phase of the normalization process it has a significance that is greater than ever before.

The policy is daily opposition to hostile views, rumors and giving misinformation and demagogic. It is combating wrong in every form, in whatever guise it appears. It is convincing and organizing people for agreement and cooperation over grudges and doubts. It is the creation of an atmosphere in which trust can strengthen itself, dialog expands together with a disciplined realization of agreements discussed together and with cells of the PRON /Patriotic National Regeneration Movement/, union organizations, and social and youth organizations; self-governments are alive with real life and occupy their rightful place as stipulated by the Ninth PZPR Congress, realizing the meaning of a socialist renewal.

The 13th Plenum expanded the answers to questions of what the party should be like, the quality of its ranks, the ideological core and ideological temperament in order to be able to keep pace with every one of these tasks. Reports-elections meetings will be the following step along this road. We will see to it together that it be a proper, fruitful and meaningful step.

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Accountability Discussed

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 12 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Beres: "On the Fringe of the 'Butter Incident'"]

[Text] The party is undergoing a period of self-evaluation with regard to the current status of the implementation of the program of the Ninth Party Congress. Serving this evaluation is the statutory reports-elections campaign, which already involves almost half of the branch and basic party organizations. As can currently be estimated, 45 to 50 of the branch and basic party organizations in our region should have held such meetings by the end of this week.

The reports-programs debate in the forum of the basic party organization mirrors not only the current ideological-political condition of the party masses, but also the state of consciousness and general mood of our society. The basic party organizations are most deeply involved in the center of the issues of any given plant or facility; their members personally feel the heat of any problems, just as non-party individuals. Hence, the barometer of social opinions and views, and all the problems troubling working people from the city, find their reflection in the life of these basic party elements.

This has continued to be the case in recent days, when public opinion was affected, unfortunately, by the introduction of and rationale for the decision to return to meat rationing. The overall atmosphere accompanying "this butter operation" influenced in no small way the tone and contents of discussions during meetings. The bitterness and criticism, especially from the party's rank and file, were for all intents and purposes justified; in the end, people had to sit and listen to the complaints of their non-party comrades. There were accusations about a loss of credibility and about the manipulation of statistics and information. Hardly a month ago, in the official press, reference was made to the public pronouncements of the representatives of the Central Office of the Dairy Cooperative Union that the drying river of milk had produced a need to return to butter rationing and that purchases were setting records. How are we to explain and justify today this lack of imagination on the part of the dairy people? How should we understand this self-serving and stifling manifestation of "successful propaganda"? In this light, how does one convince his colleague-neighbor on the next machine that the market situation has basically changed,

that putting off further the decision to suspend meat rationing threatens the vision of lines kilometers long waiting for butter or margarine in December during the intensive shopping just before the holidays?

The government regarded very seriously the critical comments and doubts which were heard even from party organizations concerning this subject at the beginning of November. An expression of this concern was the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers and their adopted decisions and evaluations. The stringent proposals of party cadre were also heard.

As a result of this session, the Government Press Office issued a communique which expressed sympathy and apology to the citizens for the consequences of the "butter incident" and for the problems caused by a return to meat rationing. To be sure, this is definitely the first time that the wide masses of the population have heard an official "excuse me" from the highest state agencies. This is a new custom in our sociopolitical life. Let us hope that this type of practice becomes a permanent element of our political culture, that it is not something surprising, but a normal reflex on the part of officials vis-a-vis the people in a situation when the citizen deserves such a gesture. And always in the case of the central authorities, the community and even in the factory.

The communique from the government's extraordinary session and the self-critical position taken there are, of course, a distinct and specific expression of the contents of the resolution of the recent 13th Central Committee Plenum and a manifestation of the practical implementation of party ideology and its principles which define the ties of the people's authority with the masses and the duties of listening to the opinions and demands of the masses. It is the confirmation of the conformability of ideas with deeds and even of what determines the credibility of each program and resolution.

There is still one other aspect of this matter which needs to be emphasized. The government, i.e., the people therein, both in word and deed, have shown how they comprehend the basic requirements of the renovation of our social and political life, how they conceive of governing. After all, the performance of our officials and the execution of the leading and guiding role--something which was strongly repeated during the 13th Plenum--are a responsible service to the working class, i.e., to working people. Governing is a service to society, not the basis of conceit or arrogance.

Do those who perform leadership functions and often execute them with the endorsement of the party really understand their role and obligations? After all, provincial, community and plant reality provides many facts which answer this question with a "no." It was no accident that Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stated from the rostrum of the 13th Plenum: "As before, there are people who have understood little and learned nothing. The dramatic events of recent times roll by them like 'water off of a duck's back.' Again they know better; again they are demonstrating contempt. For them the individual and people exist mainly to be dogmatically led and not to be worried about too much with regard to what they think, or feel, or what their indecisions or concerns are."

That the feelings of the comrades in leadership positions are similar to the experiences of the party "depths" even in our region is convincingly shown by the workers' criticism coming out of the meetings of the branch party organizations, including the severe accusations against certain individuals who hold leadership positions, namely, that they do not think they belong to the same world as do the workers, and that they ignore it. Because of a shortage of space, only one example will be cited here, even though many more similar examples could be cited.

In the forum of the branch party organization in the Rzeszow Transportation Equipment Plant and in other plants, one could hear the question: How long will city officials be in favor of easy interest for the people? The point is that, like mushrooms after a rain, there are new shops and sales points going up which offer various exclusive items certainly not within the means of the average working man. These are shops dealing with goods of unknown origin. Is there someone who is setting the conditions for private initiative? Is there someone who verifies the licenses of these shops? Perhaps there could be a small snack bar or food sales point in these shops? Such doubts are voiced by the local basic party organization and members of the Municipal People's Council. Without results. Recently at a meeting of Center City dwellers the activities of officials in this area were questioned. A representative of City Hall "advised" the committee's members not to speak about issues with which they were not familiar. The answer is clear and to the point.

It is a pity that this kind of attitude and behavior continue to be only occasionally the subject of the judgments of parent basic party organizations, that it is somehow difficult to evaluate the party loyalty of a worker and director, or a scrubwoman and a chairman, by the same measure. Then some other measure for the boss of a neighboring firm. An investigation conducted several weeks ago in Tarnobrzeg revealed that in a group of party members who never attended the meetings of their basic party organizations, as many as 30 percent of them were close comrade friends of directors and leaders. For this reason, it has never occurred in the parent basic party organizations that warnings were issued to them or that they were threatened with removal from the lists of organization members.

Indeed, the science of principle and the shaping of a climate of sincerity and openness are not simple matters, especially when they touch upon the relationship along the line of superior-subordinate. One can conclude that the debate, touching upon the contents of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum, and the discussion accompanying the current reports-elections campaign, will advance this difficult and rough process of education many steps forward.

Party Assets, Losses in Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Party Gains and Losses in Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] The party reports-elections campaign in Radom and Kielce Provinces has entered a new phase. Meetings within the branch and basic party organizations

are ending and community and plant conferences are beginning. The first community conference in Radom Province took place in Gniewoszow. Steelworkers are conferring in the Ostrowiec small rolling mill and electrosteel mill. Here are some reports of these deliberations:

The Impasse Has Been Broken

Meetings in the basic and branch party organizations of Radom Province will continue until the end of November. In some of the community echelons, at least in Grabow, Sieciechow and Gniewoszow, they are already finished.

In the stormy post-August 1980 timeframe, the community organization in Gniewoszow suffered a serious regress. Seven basic party organizations [POP] were dissolved and many members left. Changes were made in the leadership of the echelons in 1982 and last year's reports-programs campaign was the turning point. The impasse was broken; 2 POP's were reactivated: 23 new candidates--various farmers and farm workers--joined the party in Wysokie Kolo and Zaleis. Thanks to the implementation of all the proposals of the previous campaign, the authority of the community party organization grew significantly in the area. Today, the organization has 200 members in 14 POP's. This is the result of properly conducted political work and a new active style based on direct contact with the inhabitants and issues which bother them. The words of Gmina Committee Secretary Marian Drobek spoken during the conference best render the essence of these changes: "In the multitude of issues we face on a daily basis, we have to leave time for ourselves to reflect on what our role should be in the implementation of the party's leading and guiding role. Here we need some serious accounting directed not at the top, but at us all; we need to answer the question of whether we are completely prepared in our daily lives to actively participate in the ideological-political struggle which the party is waging."

The discussion, lasting for several hours, confirmed completely that people in Gniewoszow really do understand the obligations arising from the possession of a party membership card. The awareness of having to act and participate has always accompanied the economic concern of efficiently eliminating those shortcomings still existing and of overcoming the difficulties with which farmers have to contend. This deserves recognition. The provincial party secretary in Random, Jan Rybarczyk, expressed this while evaluating efforts in the echelon. He stressed that the echelon's activity up until now has provided a guarantee for overcoming the crisis of awareness; this crisis has today's highest priority.

Marian Drobek was again elected secretary of the gmina committee in Gniewoszow.

Concern for the Nation and Factory

Reports-elections meetings in 65 party branch organizations in the Ostrowiec M. Nowotko Steel Mills ended the branch organization conferences in two of the largest plants: the rolling mill and the electrosteel mill. The largest party organizations are active here, having 260 and 304 members and candidates. During the long discussions, talk was not limited only to accounting for the past. Today, the steelworkers are thinking foremost about what to do so that life might become better in our country and the economy recover from the

crisis more quickly. They also think about what should be done to produce more, improve work organization and eliminate mismanagement, inefficiency and waste.

The most senior mill operator with the longest party membership, Stanislaw Rogus, affirmed that if we are to get out of this crisis we all have to economize, and in everything, from the smallest screw to the most expensive imported electrodes. Scientists and inventors have a wide open field for their activities in a situation where there is a lack of many everyday items. After all, we are a country training a large number of specialists.

Jerzy Misiura, foreman at the rolling mill, stated that despite the three upheavals which our people's republic has experienced, there is still a lack of consistency in the activities of the authorities. Mismanagement is still tolerated. For instance, despite the record fruit harvest of last year and this year, supplies of processed fruit are not to be found. Incompetent and poor directors and bosses need to be fired. Those guilty of negligence should be indicated by name, while young, efficient and talented people should be advanced.

The director of the technical department, Roman Lucinia, stated: "A rolling mill which is equipped with many imported appliances feels more sensitively the shortage of spare parts. We need to adapt parts produced nationally, but this does not pay to do so. The costs of components produced in Poland are very high. When figuring economically, it is cheaper to import. This problem requires a quick solution and decision."

The steelworkers' wages were a subject which stirred up the most discussion and emotion. The Ostrowiec steel mills are at the top of the ministry's list with regard to production, but at the very bottom when it comes to wages. And it is in this very plant that competition is going on for the allocation of wage preferences for individual departments. The steel workers justly believe that their department with the most difficult working conditions should be particularly privileged with regard to earnings because this is the case everywhere else. Meanwhile, the workers in the rolling mills in comparison have better conditions and receive higher wages. For a long time now, the steel mill has been unable to fill its work forces. The turnover in personnel is also very high.

In the opinion of a majority of workers, the granting of additional salubrious leaves caused much dissatisfaction and misunderstanding. No introduction of standards for harmful positions was again demanded.

The steelworkers also complained about the waste in their own plant. Senior foreman Henryk Gonda and Mieczyslaw Piotrowski, in charge of agitation, spoke on this subject. The example they cited was the wretched quality of party produced for their needs by the steel mill itself. The repair of appliances was also defective. This was brought up by Ryszard Krakowiak, Pawel Okret and Andrzej Pluta. It was proposed that the plant do without the expensive services of certain "foreign" firms and set up its own repair and service brigade.

Another sensitive problem is the shortage of scrap metal and its poor quality. Adam Marek, the senior foreman of the blast furnaces, stated that irregular

deliveries by 100-car trains caused massive headaches in production. Beyond the single deliveries, work has to be reorganized after long interruption and this increases the steel mill's losses. The plant pays a high price for the number of axles in the steel mill's yards; during a rapid, chaotic unloading, the cars are wrecked and later have to be repaired.

The participants of both conferences acknowledged, moreover, that ideological training, long neglected, needed to be improved overall. The activity of certain steelworkers elected as municipal and provincial party authorities was negatively evaluated. The poor conditions of social hygiene and health were also discussed, as were the headaches of everyday life in the city and settlements. The poor quality of bread and meat was brought up. So was the negligence on the part of the mill management to provide for the Ogroda settlement and the snail's pace repair of the railroad bridge; its disrepair has caused problems for the city's traffic.

The Most Important Rural Issues

Teofil Malek from Czarnca near Wloszczow has been a party member since 1948. For many years he worked as a warehouseman in the Wloszczow Agricultural Works. Now he is retired. He has received the Cavalry Cross of the Order of Polish Rebirth. He has also been the secretary of a rural basic party organization [POP] since 1969.

He says: "...the POP has 15 members. Farmers, teachers and industrial plant workers are in it. We feel responsible for everything that goes on in Czarnca. It could not be otherwise...."

An accounting of gains and losses was conducted during the reports-elections meeting of the organization. There was some discord at the very beginning, however. Four members had failed to show for the meeting. One had already excused herself properly. But three had not. There are attendance problems at almost every meeting. Such a situation cannot be tolerated. Participation in a party meeting is, after all, one of the statutory obligations of party members.

If we are talking about the country, then we are also talking about agriculture. There are 80 farms in Czarnca. The best belong to Julian Magdziarz, Antoni Goraczka, Kazimierz Makek, Jozef Tomczyk and Henryk Fatyga. The breeding and raising of dairy animals dominates. Czarnca is proud that it does well with its economic tasks and foodstuffs production.

The discussion focused attention on the good cooperation of the party organization with the local fire department. A watchtower had been constructed through a joint effort for the public good. A kitchen and garage were added to the fire station. The fire station will serve most of the inhabitants. The Circle of Rural Enterprises was favorably evaluated. Helene Koszyka is the chairperson of the circle. The women formed a folklore club, cultivate trees and jointly produce chickens and cakes. On the other hand, the circle of the Polish Socialist Union of Youth [ZSMP] leaves a lot to be desired. Young people are not seen at the club or in the library; for a long time now, the circle has

advanced no candidate into the party's ranks. As can be seen, it is necessary for the ZSMP circle to work more closely with the POP than it has. Together, they both can do more. New officials were elected in the POP. Teofil Malek remained the first secretary.

Evaluation and Program

Mieczyslaw Jedynak, secretary of the party city-gmina committee, talked about the course of the reports-elections campaign in Konin: "We organized in our gmina meetings with the secretaries of branch and party basic organizations at which we familiarized ourselves with the temporary election procedure and program of our echelon. By now, the reports-elections meetings in the branch organizations of large factories are already finished. Meetings of the rural POP's are under way. Earlier, we had appointed teams made up of the members of intraparty, audit and party control commissions which evaluate the efforts of all POP's. Such an evaluation is presented at every meeting."

The main tenets of the discussions are the issues of executing production tasks in the organizations and factories. The comrades also devoted much attention to a discussion of how far the implementation of proposals arising from a previous program resolution had gone and whether the development of previously appointed individual party tasks was underway. There was also no lack of those who called for the consolidation of party ranks. A documented program for next term's activities is being worked out in every organization.

Party Elements in Reports-Elections Campaign

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (rak): "From the Party Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] A lively debate is ongoing in party organizations and echelons on the current tasks in the work of those basic party elements. In the light of past experiences and against the backdrop of a current appraisal of the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress' resolutions, activities programs for the next term of office are being adopted. A majority of the branch and basic party organizations have already held their reports-elections meetings. For instance, in Krosno Province's 1,267 organizations, 788 branch and basic party organizations have already had their meetings; in Rzeszow, half of the basic organizations have held theirs. Tarnobrzeg Province is the farthest advanced in this respect. Here the first gmina reports-elections conferences have taken place. In recent days, people have met in Iwanskie, Jarocin, Grebow, Majdan, Padwia and Zaleszane. Several plants have also had plant conferences.

The Need To Respond to Social Problems in Time

Its newly elected first secretary Stanislaw Hendzel says: "As a recent reports-elections meeting of the basic party organization in the Gmina Cooperative [GS] "Peasant Self-Help: in Orle, Przemysl Province, has confirmed, the work of a party organization must inseparably bind itself with the affairs of its parent plant and its work force. It is difficult to act apart from the problems which not only GS workers have, but also the inhabitants of the entire community. The efficient operation of the gmina cooperative stipulates to a great extent the provision of the inhabitants with needed goods.

"Having this especially in mind, we thought during the meeting about how we could improve the activity of our cooperative to allow it to satisfy better the needs of the inhabitants of 13 small villages in our vicinity. The fact that the Orle GS belongs to the best cooperatives of the province--and this is proven by the economic results gained during three quarters of this year--does not mean that this is easy and without difficulty.

Transportation causes us a lot of problems. Its maintenance bears down on the cooperative's finances; at the same time we have shortages of tires and spare parts, and this has an impact on the rolling stock available. On the other hand, we could avoid many problems if our people would care for the equipment as if it were their own. However, this is not the case. Hence, we have a task for the party organization which has only 12 members, but which has to have greater influence on the attitudes of the officials and their relation to the property entrusted to them. In the first place, party members themselves have to provide the example of total compliance with obligations in order to demand the same from others.

This touches upon every position and every GS organizational unit. Even suppliers are affected. Although it is known that the accumulation of necessary items is not aided by any amount of worries, the party organization has taken a close look at the suppliers' effectiveness and resourcefulness. An example could be the purchase of scrap pipe which farmers can use for fence posts. The people could be just as satisfied with the amount of fuel consumed last year. In food and industrial stores, buckets and footwear were sold. The inhabitants of particular villages would not have to stand in long lines in front of the community annex. The party organization has recently suggested that the sale of farm machines be undertaken in the gmina. Our farmers then would not have to drive to the warehouses in Przemysl and Radymien.

One could not be satisfied until the comrades said something about retail non-sense during the reports-elections meeting. GS warehouses contain fodder which the farmers cannot buy. The reason for this is that one unit's weight is 60 kilograms, but that is not enough and neither the boss nor the director can decide whether to sell the farmers the fodder in greater quantities. Even in wanting to clear the warehouses, the GS could not ask that higher-ups halt their deliveries until the problem could be solved for fear that future deliveries would be threatened. The lack of flexibility in central planning causes much irritation in the gmina. Therefore, in thinking about the atmosphere in the area, we intervene and try to resolve these problems.

Elblag Plenum on Campaign

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (b): "The Ideological-Political Contents of the Observance of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic and Preparations for the Provincial Party Reports-Elections Conference"]

[Text] The ideological-educational aspects of the preparations and course of the observance of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic in the region were discussed yesterday during plenary proceedings of the party provincial committee in Elblag. Jerzy Prusiecki, the provincial committee's first secretary, chaired the meeting. Also affirmed at the meeting was the plan for preparations for the provincial party reports-elections conference. Colonel Ryszard Urlinski, governor of Elblag, was also there.

Henryk Szumielski, a provincial committee secretary, read the report of the party provincial committee executive board. The report was entitled: "The Observance of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic as the essential factor in activating ideological-educational efforts in Elblag Province." He turned to the contents of the materials and resolutions of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum. These contents cover the party's ideological tasks in consolidating the determining role of the working class in Poland's socialist development and the ideological-programs provisions of next year's observance of the planned celebration in our country. The patronage for this observance has been assumed by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

He emphasized the historic significance of the declaration by the Polish Workers' Party, "What We Are Fighting For," and of the Polish Committee for National Liberation's manifesto, which despite many difficulties was implemented. The post-war accomplishment, of course, is undeniable. He stated: "We are not talking about a return to the propaganda of success. This is a time for a deep analysis of errors of which there was no shortage, unfortunately, during these 40 years. We go forward and draw the proper conclusions. But there is also the need to speak the truth openly about what our people have built with their own hands in adversity and with sweat. We are beholden to those who gave their lives for a socialist, and no other, Poland. This is also an obligation to the younger generation, to which we have to speak the same truth about our mistakes, as well as point to the efforts of their parents."

The provincial committee secretary briefly described the most important post-war accomplishments in various areas of state, social, cultural and educational life in Elblag Province, whose unbelievably destroyed villages and cities were returned to Poland after many centuries thanks to the Soviet Army.

Can one do more, better and more honestly? Yes, answered Secretary H. Szumielski. Both objective difficulties have become obstacles. The Cold War, the attacks of West German revisionists on Poland, ideological subversion and the need to put considerable but indispensable resources into the national defense. All this has limited the possibilities. Currently, the United States

and its allies are imposing economic sanctions. Pooling the efforts of everyone is necessary in order to overcome the crisis and increase the accomplishments of People's Poland through internal order, social discipline, well organized labor and the consolidation based on the program of the Ninth Party Congress. This is a joint venture which does not divide us, but ties us together.

The observance of the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic will be a great political-organizational campaign in the province, inspired by the party's echelons and organizations in the province in cooperation with the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, elements of the PRON, trade unions, youth and social organizations.

Ryszard Skotnicki, Marian Wojcik, Edward Murdzia, Stanislaw Kocemba, Zygmunt Bojeck, Ryszard Zima, Mieczyslaw Krupinski, Julian Turko, and Kazimierz Kowalczyk spoke during the discussions. Representatives from youth and social organizations, institutions and factories, as well as the provincial council of PRON, presented their own programs for observing the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic; these programs stressed ideological-educational contributions particularly. Some of the speakers characterized the postwar accomplishments of their areas and production plants; they also shared experiences and thoughts on the subject of postwar reconstruction and plant management, flooded marshlands and cultural facilities.

The adopted resolution of the party provincial committee's plenum states that although the development of the Polish People's Republic has not been free of setbacks, tensions and failures, basically it has brought, nevertheless, to the Polish people values for which patriotic and progressive social forces have been fighting for generations. It was emphasized that the observance celebrations should become a period of universal and serious discussion of the road covered, the reasons for our achievements, the source of our shortcomings and socialist changes in our province. The celebrations should contribute to the shaping of an objective image of our country's most recent history in our social consciousness. The contents and facts of the 40-year history of the Polish People's Republic should find their place in party education and various types of meetings between party members and non-party people.

In summing up this point of the proceedings, provincial committee First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki emphasized the need to forcibly but honestly present the region's postwar accomplishments, with deep respect towards those who, through sacrifice and involvement, contributed to the reconstruction of cities and villages, plants, farms, education and culture. Often these are modest, forgotten people; we need to win them over and honor them. A very important aspect is the proper rendering of the ideological essence of the observance of the Polish People's Republic's 40th Anniversary to young people in such a manner that it serves in shaping patriotic, civic and responsible attitudes.

During another point of the deliberations, provincial committee Secretary Leszek Witkiewicz addressed the meeting. He presented a plan for the preparations for the provincial reports-elections conference and the course of the first phase of the currently ongoing party reports-elections campaign in the

region. Meetings have already taken place in more than 600 branch and basic party organizations. Soon, party gmina and city-gmina conferences will begin.

The plenum approved the plan and standards for representation in the election of delegates for the provincial reports-elections conference, as well as the date of this conference--21 January 1984.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS ACTIVITIES NOTED

Campaign Assesses Attainments, Deficiencies

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 19-20 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by W. Nowak]

[Text] (Own Information) /The reports-elections campaign in the Koszalin Voivodship party organization is now at the halfway mark. The manner in which it has proceeded thus far shows that most district [OOP] and primary [POP] party organizations are well prepared in the organizational sense for this important party political campaign. This is also attested to by the high rate of attendance at most meetings, the substantive discussion characterized by concern over plant, rural or community affairs and the resolutions and plans of operation that have been passed./ [material enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

As is being stressed at the reports-elections meetings, the current campaign is taking place within 2 years of the 9th PZPR Congress and follows the deliberations of the 13th KC [Central Committee] Plenum, which is important for the entire party. Thus, problems of ideological-upbringing and intraparty work play an important role both in the preliminary reports of the OOP and POP executive boards and in the discussion as well.

Our comrades are attempting to assess the attitudes and commitment of members both during the years 1980-1982, difficult ones for the party, and during the present time. In this context, an assessment is being made of the implementation of the proposals and recommendations that were made during the term that is now ending and of the tasks that were entrusted to particular party members. At the same time, in most cases this is a substantive analysis of the achievements of party organizations during the last 2 years and of the difficult road they have had to travel. At the same time, it is a criticism of the weaknesses and shortcomings that have occurred in our socioeconomic life.

As a rule, socioeconomic problems are brought up at all reports-elections meetings in the Koszalin Voivodship. At these meetings, much attention is also given to problems of the work of health service centers, the protection of the natural environment and the operation of commerce. There are 1,569 OOP's and POP's in the Koszalin Voivodship. About 50 percent of these already

have made an evaluation of their 2 years of work, they have defined their directions of operation and they have elected new officials and delegates to first-degree reports-elections conferences--whether gmina, city-gmina or city.

Among the newly elected OOP and POP first secretaries (about 60 percent of the previous first secretaries were re-elected), over 30 percent are workers, 16 percent are peasants and 46 percent are white-collar workers. Thirteen percent of the first secretaries are women. The newly elected POP executive boards include over 40 percent workers, 16 percent peasants and 33 percent white-collar workers. Ten percent are female, and 14 percent are party members under age 29. More than 80 percent of the executive board members have served the party for 5 or more years. The POP's in the Koszalin Voivodship are to elect 3,788 delegates to gmina, city-gmina and city conferences. Those elected to date include about 500 workers and 250 farmers. More than 100 young comrades under age 30 and about 250 women also became delegates.

Party Campaign Concerning Demands on Self

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 19-20 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Waclaw Nowak]

[Text] We are at the Plant Cultivation Station [SHR] in Biesiekierz. It is composed of several farms that employ a combined total of 500 people. These include 122 members and candidate-members of the PZPR grouped together in 7 OOP's that operate according to POP laws. Reports-elections meetings have already been held in all of these. At these meetings, new OOP officials were elected, as were delegates to the gmina conference. PZPR members represent here about 25 percent of all employees; of these, 62.5 percent are workers. So much for the brief description to introduce the subject, a description written on the occasion of the reports-elections meeting that has assessed the work of the party Plant Committee [KZ] during the past, somewhat difficult term and has elected new KZ officials, including the first secretary, once again Comrade Ireneusz Nowakowski.

A Respected Force in the Gmina

The KZ report states:

"The party's leading role in society and its leadership role in the state mean, with reference to our plant, that the party organization should use its means of political influence to ensure social calm and the normal rhythm of plant work, to mold workforce awareness and to stimulate and organize the active participation of the workforce in the implementation of socioeconomic tasks. It should be aware of the life of workers and assess accurately the moods of the workforce, its aspirations and its needs." PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] first secretary Comrade Ryszard Magierek says, after the KZ elections, "You are the most respected party organization in the life of

the gmina. Our friends respect you, and our enemies must reckon with you as well."

Did the meeting confirm this opinion?

A Record of the Discussion

It lasted several hours. As someone observed, reason governed emotions, nor was it ever lacking among the members and activists of the PZPR from this organization, even during the most difficult period. As they make known today, they were always very realistic. After all, they are a part of the workforce; its vital issues are their issues. This became evident in a special way during the period of the suspension of trade union activity. Nor is there any dearth of examples from this field today.

It is impossible to discuss all of the subjects that were discussed. Naturally, my record, too, is fragmentary, and is limited to those issues that I consider to be the most critical ones.

The First Issue--Work

This was the guiding motif of all speeches without exception:

Eugeniusz Osiecki, a tractor driver from Parsow: "We do not care enough for the equipment entrusted to us. The shortage of garages for tractors causes many losses, everything becomes ruined. Working conditions in Biesiekierz shops are terrible."

Waclaw Geborys, director of the construction-renovation group: "A party member should be evaluated in the first place for his execution of professional and social duties. We must lead in work, we must be exemplary. This is not always the case."

Kazimierz Golec, a worker from the mechanization services plant in Biesiekierz: "Can we do repairs efficiently under such poor conditions? We have people that are well qualified to do this work, but we cannot make full use of their qualifications. The building of new shops is an urgent need, a necessity."

Roman Ciepieszczuk, chairman of trade unions: "We are striving to improve the working and living conditions of our workforce. Many old regulations must be updated, for example those in the labor codex and those referring to the collective structure. We wish to be an active organization."

Leslaw Jonik, chief specialist for plant [crop] affairs: "We speak a great deal of economic reform. But reform is above all good work that has superior results. Under the new wage system, we must make better use of the incentives system. People must know that good work must be properly compensated, that it is worthwhile to work well and productively. More attention must be paid to these issues in party work; it cannot be limited to the monthly OOP or KZ meeting alone."

Zenon Wysoczanski: "Why do our employees not benefit from the past fiscal year's bonus fund?" (This question was put to the director of the voivodship enterprise, who was present at the meeting. There were more questions, very pointed ones, to which answers were given in detail).

Stanislaw Tomczak, director of the Biesiekierz SHR: "The reports-elections meetings in the OOP--and I myself participated in five--were very informative. A great deal was said about work, about results and about the weaknesses and shortcomings that are apparent. This is good; we must speak honestly and openly at party meetings.

"What are our achievements? We are in the forefront with regard to results. This past summer we harvested an average of over 40 quintals per hectare of four types of grain, 230 quintals per hectare of potatoes, 650 quintals per hectare of fodder beets, about 300 quintals per hectare of sugar beets, over 30 quintals per hectare of cole, 22 quintals per hectare of lupine.... These are the fruits of our hard work, our concern for our workplace. We are well prepared for winter, we are fully provided with fodder, we have 419 hectares of wheat, while last year we had 250 hectares.

"Does this mean that there is nothing for us to improve or change? On the contrary, we have a great deal to do, both in crop and livestock production. We must also make greater demands on ourselves. The other workers watch us party members. When we leave a tractor running during a stoppage, it consumes fuel unnecessarily. If someone forgets to turn off a light, the bulbs burn in offices all day, even when the sun is shining. What is the loss to the plant? If a tractor driver does not add fluid to the battery on time, it wears out faster. Then, due to the lack of a battery (everyone knows what a shortage there is of batteries), tractors stand idle. And automobile tires, worn out prematurely when used for tractors..."

The speaker concluded: "These are important subjects that must be discussed at OOP meetings as well."

The Second Issue--Attitudes

The previous record of the discussion shows that the subject of work, the good work of party members in the SHR is linked closely with specific attitudes. This is all the more true for party members. As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the 13th KC Plenum, "the criticism has in mind party-political preventive measures above all." While the resolutions of that plenum were not quoted here, the problems considered there were discussed.

Let us return to the record of the discussion:

Leslaw Spisak, director of the mechanization plant in Biesiekierz: "The leadership role of the party is not to replace the administration, but for each of us to assume responsibility for his own segment of work, both professional and social. We are chosen for various representative, social and professional organizations. When we are nominated, we reply: 'I accept.' At POP meetings, we must be held accountable for this work. In these social

organizations, in the employee self-government, in trade unions and in the founding committee we represent our party organization, or rather the party. Thus, we must take care to defend its policies and ideologies in these organizations. The topic of the day this morning at work was the draft of food price increases beginning in the new year. Opinions vary, and this is understandable. No one likes the increases. In all honesty, however, it must be said that it is a kind of one-time occurrence that for the first time in our country we are not shocked by the subject. It is a thorny subject, but we can and we must enter into substantive conversations and discussions with our fellow comrades at work. Our party work cannot begin and end at the POP meeting."

Maria Lasota, director of a Laski farm: "Working and social-living conditions, including housing conditions in particular, have an effect on moods and attitudes. In Laski, 90 percent of the buildings are in need of repair, new housing must be built if we are to attract young, qualified employees. This is an important social problem."

Teresa Krawiecka, director of a school in Biesiekierz: "The SHR is respected in our gmina; it also helps the schools a great deal. Party members from the SHR are active members of the founding committee, they take part in PRON and they are involved in the development of cultural institutions--in Parsow and Krasnik, for example--that serve all of the rural residents, especially young people."

Several Reflections

It was a good meeting. The discussion did not bypass difficult or explosive issues. How many events there were during the term that was now ending for the Biesiekierz SHR comrades. There was the severe political struggle with the enemy, with our opponent, both open and hidden. As they emphasized, they never lost faith in the idea that the party alone will be able to lead the country out of its gnawing problems. Not everyone withstood this pressure. Some left and turned in their party identification cards. There were not many of these. Also, after a time, as things began to stabilize, they asked to be re-admitted.

Still another phenomenon is worthy of emphasis. During this difficult period, the party organization as if became more cohesive and consolidated. But it did not isolate itself. The party aktiv was present everywhere. People here trusted the party. In practice this meant that they believed particular party activists, their fellow comrades at work that confirmed their party-mindedness in their work and their social activity. These are not merely empty words. Since the previous reports-elections meeting, i.e., since the spring of 1981, in 7 OOP's, 20 new PZPR candidate-members have been accepted into the party. The majority of these are young comrades that are prepared for professional and social work. They joined the party because they wish to take an active part within its ranks to implement the Ninth Congress resolutions.

The talk at the meeting was honest and courageous. An outsider might have said that the self-criticism of the comrades from Biesiekierz was too severe. Little was said of their achievements; they spoke primarily of the suggestions for further party work that emanate from these achievements. They discussed weighty problems and the party tasks that issue from them. Hence, practically every speaker in the discussion mentioned good work, the personal example and finally the assignment of tasks and the scrupulous accounting of them.

In this context, those spoke aptly whose words contained the following essence: POP work cannot begin and end with the meeting. Thus, everyday work, the solving of problems--as they said--step by step and the personal example in the work and the life of every employee that holds a PZPR identification card--this is the path for gaining the trust of the workforce and for attaining authority in the community.

The meeting, and particularly the critical discussion demonstrated that the comrades from the SHR in Biesiekierz have made a significant step forward on this road that is already recognized today.

Second Stage of Party Campaign

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (ch. bmk)]

[Text] (Own information) The reports-elections campaign at the primary level of the party is nearing an end. Where meetings have been held in the primary party organizations [POP], the second stage of the campaign has begun--plant, vocational community and gmina conferences.

This past Saturday, 19 November, the plant conference of the PZPR organization at the Lublin Coal Basin Mines [KLZW] was held. Fifty-seven delegates representing the members and candidate-members of the party from 11 POP's came to the miners' hotel in Leczna for the deliberations.

The deliberations were preceded by the ceremonial bestowing of identification cards upon KLZW workers newly accepted into party ranks. Eighteen PZPR members and candidate-members, including both workers (miners) and representatives of the engineering-technical cadre, received their membership cards from PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] secretary Michal Bokinięc, who took part in the conference. Those in attendance warmly applauded the speech of Jerzy Siadecki, a driver, who described his motives for deciding to join the PZPR during a period of great difficulty for the party and the country. They were the motives of a worker that was no longer a young man, for many years an independent, who approached the Plant Committee during the most difficult year of 1981 with the words: "if I can be of use to the party, I am at its disposal, help me in this."

The report and the many hours of discussion (17 speakers) focused on the party's ideological and moral influence. And although at KLZW work in this area was conducted effectively (as is proved by the number of those newly

received into the party--40 people over the term), a number of shortcomings and inconsistencies were pointed out at the meeting. The need to strengthen this element of party work was emphasized strongly in the conference resolution as well.

A second current in the discussion was composed of socioeconomic issues likewise viewed through the prism of KLZW and of the entire economic organism of the country. And here we noted a number of committed individuals, full of sincere concern for the common good. This complex of issues also included statements treating of yet unresolved problems of the mining town of Leczna. (Today we are merely touching upon the issues taken up during the discussion. We will give more extensive treatment to what the miners said in a separate article).

The delegates elected a 25-person Plant Committee, a Plant Review Committee and a Party Control Commission, as well as delegates to the city-gmina conference. They also elected a new KZ first secretary, Ryszard Kozmian, an overman employed in the KLZW power department who also directs the work of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] plant organization.

During the course of the deliberations, thanks for past efforts was expressed by various people, including KW secretary Michal Bokiniec, to members that represented the authorities of the plant party organization with its first secretary Zbigniew Chlapek. Conference participants also sent a telegram to the 14th PZPR KC Plenum, in session on that day in Warsaw, expressing their support of the programs it passed.

The elections-reports campaign has also entered the second stage in the party organizations and echelons of the Chelm Voivodship. Professional community (to date in Krasnoscaw educational circles), plant (in the Voivodship Office and the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs) and gmina (in Dubience, Hansk, Lopienik, Wyryki and Zmudz) PZPR reports-elections conferences are being held. On Saturday, 19 November, party members of the largest production plant in the Chelm Voivodship, the CHELM Cement Works, summarized PZPR achievements during the period that elapsed between the Ninth and Tenth Plant Reports-Elections Conference.

It was emphasized that these were 30 very difficult months. The party had to operate during three periods that differed from one another. None of these was easy. This was felt by all party members--both full-time staff members and those that do not perform any functions within the party apparatus.

Nor were the delegates to the CHELM Cement Works plant reports-elections conference unaware of the issues of the functioning of their plant. Both the report and the discussion dealt with problems of a broadly conceived economical management, the implementation of plant economizing and anti-inflation programs and an improvement in organization, an increase in productivity and better work discipline.

Speakers were critical of the issue of ideological-political training of party members in the plant. In this field it is necessary that we step up our activities. This was one of the major tasks assigned to the newly elected PZPR Plant Committee of the CHELM Cement Works.

During the organizational part of the deliberations, elections were held of a 23-person PZPR KZ, 18 delegates to the city reports-elections conference in Chelm, 7 members of the Plant Review Commission and 5 members of the Plant Party Control Commission. The delegates likewise elected the PZPR KZ first secretary. Waclaw Ludynia was re-elected to this position.

Campaign Measuring Party Strength

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 83 pp 1,6

[Reports on speeches of PZPR gmina committee first secretaries]

[Text] Henryk Pisalek--Mniow

We have already concluded the reports-elections meetings of our organizations. On Saturday, 26 November, we will hold a gmina conference. In addition to making the delegates aware of the total picture of the work of the PZPR Gmina Committee and its executive board, we will also try to assess the problems brought up by comrades at rural party meetings.

I am already able to say that the meetings were held at the proper time and were characterized by an atmosphere that reflected the current situation in the country, in the party and among the people.

While I attended many meetings, I would like to speak here of one meeting in the village of Skoki. It is a small organization of nine members. I was persuaded of something I am always saying: it is not quantity but quality that counts in work. The comrades from Skoki spoke of their most recent affairs, e.g., the construction of a 300-meter stretch of road to the village of Niedzwiedz. They have 177,000 zlotys from the Agricultural Development Fund earmarked to pay for digging drainage ditches along the road. They hired a team of tradesmen for this work, the farms have several tractors to haul rocks and the Gmina Office will help to bring in a road roller. The UG [Gmina Office] chief, who was present at the meeting, ensured that there would be an ample supply of gravel that the farmers will spread themselves.

There is an old well in the village. The farmers have cemented the access to it and only a roof is needed over it.

At this meeting, the comrades said that they also want to use the well in the production cooperative. Nearby farmers wish to draw their water from it. The chairman charged a monthly fee of 100 zlotys to all those that draw water. Twenty-five farmers signed up. But, since everything is becoming more and more expensive for us, the chairman raised the charge to 300 zlotys. This is a little too much, even if one takes into account the costs of supplying the well with a suction pump, of upkeep and the like.

Very human matters were also discussed. This gives me great satisfaction. For example, the PZPR POP in the village is making a motion to the Gmina Office to remit Tadeusz Piatek's taxes. This farmer is ill and has no farmhands. Another rural resident, Wladyslaw Majos applied to have one tax payment remitted. He was hospitalized three times, he built a barn, he was up to his ears in debt. The chief agreed to remit the quarterly payment.

I think that the most important thing is to see the party organization and party members as they really are. The Skoki comrades have been under the obvious pressures in recent years; they have been plagued by those from Solidarity that have come to haunt them. It is both interesting and worthy of the greatest recognition that no one broke down, no one abandoned the party in its most difficult hour.

Of course there were some that left the gmina organization. Even this was a good thing. We were wrong to try with all our might in some years to eliminate the "white spots." We recruited completely casual members for the party that never had any sociopolitical interests. On the other hand, some of those that left us at a bad time included those that returned to the party, such as Wladyslaw Slusarczyk from the PZPR POP in Cierchy. He left the party, but then, as a thinking individual (and we do find Comrade Slusarczyk such a man), he had a moment of questioning, of reflection. He wrote to his organization, saying that he had been subjected to much persuasion, even threats, and that now he sees his great mistake and would like to rectify it and return to party ranks.

At this time, the gmina organization numbers 270 members and candidate-members. At the gmina conference, we would like to present delegates with a program of action according to our abilities.

Wojciech Golanski--Radoszyce

We have also held our elections meetings. This was a major task--the gmina organization numbers 488 members and candidate-members that work in 42 POP's that are primarily rural PZPR elements. They elected 98 delegates to the gmina conference.

During the meetings, comrades crossed six people from the list of members and accepted three new candidate-members in Kolonce. They are young farmers--members of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth].

What can we say about the meetings? They were invigorating; everywhere there were lively discussions, exchanges of ideas and exchanges of views, often conflicting ones. There were also many new recommendations that were interesting for their boldness. We appointed a Gmina Committee recommendations commission to study them carefully and thoroughly.

Before the conference, the Gmina Committee [KG] will meet to examine and approve the report that we will submit to delegates. We will also examine

how the elections meetings went in PZPR POP's. We wish to evaluate them honestly to enable us all to see the state of the party in our gmina, to see its organization, sociopolitical and ideological condition (as it has become fashionable to say), in a word, its strength and resourcefulness in everyday action. As was correctly pointed out by our comrades in Wilczkowice, we want more unsubmissive PZPR organizations. We want them to be less submissive with regard to all officials enamored of bureaucracy and in awe of every regulation, even the most absurd ones.

More than once at reports-elections meetings we told our comrades that the measure of the good work of every PZPR POP is its autonomy, its awareness of its power and its persistence in investigating human and community affairs. The KG should be viewed less as the echelon that "can resolve everything." People in the village look at party members as, and really want to see them as those that give a good example by their good management, their daily behavior and their straightforward attitude to others.

Janusz Chmielnicki-Lipsko

In the region that encompasses five gminas: Chotcza, Ciepielow, Sienno, Solec and Rzecznik and in the city of Lipsko, the campaign is running smoothly, although there are problems here and there.

It is too soon to generalize, but one already observes that some issues recur. For example, economic subjects dominate at meetings. This is understandable in some sense. However, there is too little concern over the party itself, its development and its revitalization. The youth are not invited to meetings, and they are a natural party supply base. Young people manifest an interest in party affairs, but they are very critical of many things that go on in it.

On the other hand, one observes among older generation party members concern for the future of the country and the nation. On the one hand, they come out against (and they emphasize) the constant threat of war and on the other hand the internal situation of the country is unclear. The plagues of alcoholism, speculation, protectionism and others afflict society. The older comrades maintain that the renewal of our sociopolitical life has not exceeded the confines of the gmina. It has been discovered in many POP's that little importance is attached to recommendations made by rank-and-file party members; they are often treated in a formal manner. Gmina officials do not consult with rural residents, with the POP upon issues of importance for the community.

As we see, the roster of issues is as rich as life itself. Thus, we must embark upon their implementation. There is no other way.

SLOWO LUDU Editorial Staff POP Meets

Kielce SLOWO LUDU 21 Nov 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by: j.k.]

[Text] At Saturday's reports-elections meeting of the SLOWO LUDU editorial staff POP, not only problems of the publishing community were discussed, but

also the most important issues that touch party life. The recommendations emanating from the resolutions of the 13th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum are the guidelines of operation for the mass media as well. There is no field of life that should be regarded with indifference by workers of the ideological front.

PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] secretary Eugeniusz Cichon and PZPR KM [City Committee] first secretary Zdzislaw Skowron gave their opinion on the questions brought up during the discussion.

During the meeting, an election of the executive board and first secretary of the POP was held. Editor Boguslaw Morawski was chosen first secretary.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS SURVEYED

Life Determines Reform

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 83 pp 3, 6

[Article by Maciej Lubczynski, member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Kielce]

[Text] Comrades:

The evaluation of the economic situation of the country presented in the speech of the Politburo, as well as party tasks in the field of increasing the effectiveness of implementing the socioeconomic goals formulated there, include and generalize the evaluations and propositions put forth in discussions at party meetings and conferences and among economic and party activists, also in our Kielce party organization.

Nevertheless, despite almost full agreement of these evaluations and opinions, a number of deficiencies whose origins are difficult to explain occur in socioeconomic life.

Once more we are confirming our determination concerning the introduction of the economic reform, which we have been implementing for 2 years already. Up till now it has brought specific effects, also in Kielce Province. To confirm this I will quote some numbers and indicators: sold production amounted to 150 billion zlotys in the 10 months of this year and its dynamics has been 110.4 percent, as compared with the same period of last year, i.e., 2.3 percent more than the average in the country. This has been accompanied by a drop in employment of 1.7 percent, increase of efficiency by 12.3 percent (the country's average is 9.6 percent) while the salary fund is 30.1 percent bigger than during the same period of last year, but it is 1.1 percent smaller than the average in the country as a whole.

I believe that the numbers quoted confirm the assumptions of the reform. Unfortunately, we still meet with diversified statements about the reform.

The management of enterprises continue to feel strongly the exceedingly passive attitude toward the reform on the part of ministries. Enterprises aiming at restructuring their production meet with indifference and even

unwillingness of some ministries toward such activities. As a result we continue to observe a lower than planned increase of production of market commodities accompanied by overproduction of investment commodities, which do not find buyers because of a smaller number of capital projects, or we can see insufficient utilization of production capacities, leading to unjustified payments from the salary fund and, consequently, to significant abuses of the functioning of the motivational system.

These phenomena are accompanied by continued pressures to apply regional preferences. This results in lowering the nominal wages and the dynamics of growth in Kielce Province enterprises, as compared with the same indicators in branches and ministries as a whole.

We are thus causing social tensions, especially among properly working groups of employees, which are unnecessary--as the results quoted above prove. Constant calls for using specific branch preferences wind the spiral of unjustified salary claims, increase the flow of cadres. Competition based on the "bidding force" and not on achieved economic results or fulfilling specific social needs appears again. I believe that the question of the attractiveness of individual professions cannot be solved merely by means of preference in wages.

I believe that such practices should be definitely restricted and better implementation of the tasks of enterprises in the reformed economy should be achieved by organizing better information on the opportunities of developing production in various branches for their managements, e.g., on the basis of prognoses for the development of the domestic economy, as well as within the framework of CEMA; extending central information on supplies and cooperation possibilities; introducing a central, universal offer system concerning idle machines and appliances and free production capacities.

Speaking of the economic reform, it is necessary to draw attention to more and more frequent signals that its subsequent modifications (probably indispensable), regulations, make it more difficult for the workers to understand. And this understanding will have a considerable influence on its further success or failure.

We have assumed great tasks in the field of apartment construction and in the construction of hospitals and educational buildings in the CPR [Central Annual Plan] for 1984. This certainly agrees with social sentiment. But one has to say already today that the success of their implementation will depend, among other things, on actions undertaken in other fields.

Solutions that will enable the acquisition of land for construction projects are necessary. One has the impression that we have stopped in front of a barrier that cannot be overcome. A considerable part of initiatives concerning apartment construction is held back by problems in overcoming the labyrinth of legal regulations obligatory today.

Another barrier for apartment construction is caused by restricted investment possibilities in the field of water and heat supply as well as in the field of sewage treatment (e.g., in Kielce, and I know that the situation is similar in other regions). Additional problems arise from an increase of disproportions in the structure of the building potential, which is too small in specialist areas. Also the lack of some materials possessing special properties (e.g., floor materials, installation materials, paints) constitutes a barrier for hospital building. These are certainly fragmentary problems, but lack of determination in solving them will continue to prolong capital projects cycles, disorganize work, increase construction costs.

I believe that we will not solve these problems by defining obligatory priorities in local plans either, since already today their percentage restricts decisively the possibilities of undertaking rational decisions in provinces--should an educational base be developed or apartment construction, or should we concentrate on the food industry?

And a few more words about some seemingly systemic solutions aimed at improving the supply situation, which actually demoralize the society. One of these is the distribution of fuels. Some opinions, rather mocking, which have been repeated for some time now also in the press, which say that automobiles in Poland, exploited according to official documents of fuel purchase, have been setting up records of economic driving, are a sufficient indication, I believe, that the present system of fuel control and distribution fosters the development of speculation especially well.

Deliveries of industrial articles to different provinces are another serious problem. I realize that when there is a general lack of them, it is difficult to speak of a system that would satisfy everybody. Nevertheless, I believe that the criteria should be based more on demographic indicators as well as on the number of employed and the total value of production. All other criteria, resulting from the already mentioned "bidding force" of the authorities of individual provinces, lead to speculation and demoralization of some groups and dissatisfaction of others.

It is worth remembering this, I think, if we want to implement successfully and cohesively the tasks facing the party in the fields of ideology, politics and economy.

Concrete Recommendations in Campaign

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 21 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] A month has elapsed since the reports-elections campaign was begun in the PZPR organizations and echelons, including the provincial level.

Meetings in all party groups have taken place already. Also the reports-programs debate in the OOP's [branch party organizations] and POP's [basic party organizations] has entered the final stages. It is assumed that this stage of the campaign should be completed during this week in our region.

An introductory summary of this extensive party debate emphasizes its matter-of-fact, rational character. The work of the basic elements of the PZPR during the previous 2.5-year term of office has been analyzed very carefully in the fields of implementing the tasks resulting from the Ninth Congress, resolutions of higher echelons and their own resolutions. The way motions put forth to the administration have been implemented has undergone detailed analysis. Previous undertakings aiming at implementing the economic reform, saving programs, intensification of agricultural production, concerning improvement of social conditions and conditions of work have been discussed. An attempt has been made to point out the contribution of each comrade in these fields.

Plant and gmina reports-elections conferences are the next chapter of the campaign. They have already met in 12 communities in Tarnobrzeg Province, 5 gmina conferences took place yesterday. The following conferences took place on Saturday: a conference in Borowa and a gmina-wide meeting in Cisna, which inaugurated this stage of the reports-elections debate in Rzeszow and Krosno Provinces. Also, several plant conferences were held last week.

The Same, but Different

If one wanted to give a short description of the plant conference of the PZPR in the Polmo Automobile Shocks Factory [FA] in Krosno, one would have to say that the meeting proved once more the truth of the statement about the party being the same, but different. This thesis was undertaken in the speech of the executive board of the PZPR plant committee, which was presented by the first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in FA Polmo, Kazimierz Domaradzki, and during the discussion. The plant organization went through very dramatic moments in the past years. During the reporting period from the ninth plant conference (which met in May 1981), its ranks decreased from 800 to 252 comrades. Suspension of the plant activity and of the party organization after 13 December 1981, conversations with party members, preparation of a specific program of work with the factory staff--all this allowed to normalize the situation in the plant. Marian Pokrzywa said: "We do not miss those who have left us, for they were accidental and wavering people. Even though our organization was disintegrating, we have carried out the verification ourselves and after the interviews there remained faithful and responsible activists who did not fear obstacles and problems. Our 250 is enough, for they are devoted to the cause and faithful to the workers' interests."

The plant organization in Polmo is in the course of gaining authority and confidence. Since 26 January 1983 the employees of the plant (mainly non-party members) have sent 39 motions and postulates, which have been scrupulously discussed and settled. Among other things, the network of bus connections of the plant MKS with the center of the city has been improved, the problem of additional payments for monthly tickets has been solved, as well as the problem of coal allowances, a lot of attention has been devoted to the apartment problem and the social-living conditions of the staff. Acting wisely, the organization has proved that it is involved in the current matters and problems of the staff and in their sources.

As Augustyn Wozniak, managing director of FA, said during the discussion, the staff has stopped the decrease of production and decisively improved the economic results. The growth of sales of production of 15 percent this year has enabled the payment of a bonus of 100 percent of the average wage from earned profits.

The plant is having cadre and raw materials problems, so the proposed plan for the next year assumes that sales will grow to 2.965 million zlotys (by 2.2 percent), with an increase in work efficiency of 3 percent. Increase of discipline and rational utilization of working time will be a problem of basic importance in utilizing the production capacity of the modern factory. The situation in this field is not very good yet, since approximately 23 percent of the nominal working time is irretrievably lost, including 18 percent in working positions. Thus economic management of all the production factors, decreasing material and labor consumption, improving the conditions of work and the social-living conditions of the staff are the dictates of the moment.

The 48 delegates participating in the plant conference have elected a 17-member PZPR plant committee, 3 members of the plant party control commission and 6 delegates to the city conference of the PZPR in Krosno. Also, an executive board and secretariat have been selected.

The function of the first secretary of the PZPR plant committee has been entrusted again to Kazimierz Domaradzki.

Party Reports-Elections Meetings

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Halina Bykowska]

[Text] Members of the branch party organization from this division of the chief engineer in the Paris Commune Shipyard came to the reports-elections meeting almost in full force. This organization consists mainly of the managing cadres and these--as is known--are very influential.

Already the beginning of the meeting indicated that the discussion would be lively, since the reporting speech of the executive board, delivered by Andrzej Hinz, first secretary of the OOP [branch party organization], was critical. It spoke of party and professional obligations being inseparable in the division of the chief engineer, to make it clear to those present at the meeting that they are responsible for everything happening at the shipyard.

Although the planned tasks of the shipyard are strained and implemented in difficult conditions which--as was emphasized in the speech--are determined by the difficult economic situation of the country, it is possible to counteract many negative phenomena in the plant effectively. The effectiveness and quality of production should be much better. Also the flow of cadres should be decreased. At the same time the attendance at party meetings has decreased recently, which indicates that there is less involvement of PZPR members in the problems of their own party organization and thus also in the problems of the shipyard.

It was clearly emphasized in the speech of the executive board of the OOP that honest and matter-of-fact criticism of the deficiencies in the shipyard is expected from party members. For the higher the involvement of party members, the better will be the economic results of Paris Commune, which plays a significant role in the shipyard industry of the country.

The discussion was lively. The first speakers began complaining about numerous problems, blaming excessive flow of cadres for most failures. What is the cause of this flow? One of the speakers maintained that it is "the decreasing attractiveness of work in the shipyard industry. People are more willing to undertake work in cooperatives and other branches of the economy where they have a chance for a better wage."

Another speaker maintained that "insufficient supplies in the shipyard shops and gastronomical establishments are among the causes of the flow of cadres, as well as too slow an allotment of apartments to shipyard workers." Another speaker said that the technologists from the division of the chief engineer are suffering injustice. Their salaries are much lower than the salaries of the same professional group working in other shipyard departments, and the work is more difficult and much more responsible.

The next speaker argued: "The system of salaries for the management and supervising cadres of the shipyard obligatory in Paris Commune is obsolete.

"More money is earned in other shipyards in the country. Shipowners from the hard currency market have ever growing demands. In order to meet them it is necessary to increase labor consumption. But the higher the labor consumption, the lower the efficiency and hence the salaries. Shipyard workers work hard, especially the painters. Some painting jobs are done three times, for instance. The effort required of a painter working in a lying position is certainly equal to that of a miner working on a wall."

Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Gdansk, who participated in the meeting, admitted that the systems of wages in plants are not perfect yet. But the heart of the matter lies in better management and increased labor efficiency. After all, the division of the chief engineer, together with the OOP functioning in it, plays a considerable role in the realization of production tasks. The workers of this division have great influence on the quality and speed of work and on the effectiveness of production. And all of this influences the results upon which the wages depend. The better and more efficiently the job done, the higher the wages. The problem of the flow of cadres should, according to the first secretary of the provincial committee, be viewed in a wider context. The wages are a basic factor, but not the only one.

With regard to the question of supplies for the shipyard trading and gastronomical establishments: the party and the government have the improvement of the situation of the whole society in mind and they treat the deliveries satisfying the rationing needs as a priority. Preference for any socioprofessional group would be against this correct assumption.

The first secretary of the provincial committee also emphasized clearly that greater involvement and positive influence on the whole staff of the plant is expected from the political collective of the OOP of the division of the chief engineer.

After the speech of the first secretary was heard with attention, a slight commotion was noticed, and when Czeslaw Pitas, the chief engineer and first deputy of the managing director of the shipyard, asked for the floor concentration and attention returned.

"People are giving up jobs at the shipyard for different reasons," he said, "but it is true that contacts of the managing cadres with those who come to the shipyard community for the first time are too loose. With regard to the problem of the increased demands of shipowners from the hard currency market: it is a fact that shipowners have recently become rigid. But this is only half of the truth. The other half lies in--delicately speaking--inaccurate work. There are numerous construction deficiencies. The technologists often use too sophisticated technologies. Workers employed directly in production frequently do not perform their jobs properly."

"American restrictions are another problem. It is true that Paris Commune feels them badly. However, they were introduced almost 2 years ago. So there was time to 'switch' but many shipyard workers, including PZPR members, do not demonstrate involvement and enthusiasm for work."

As for the problem of wages, the chief engineer argued in the following way. "We are trying to create a proper wage policy by making salaries dependent on the efficiency and quality of labor. Recently, construction workers obtained considerable increases. Foremen will be included in salary regulations in the near future. Also, functional bonuses will be

given. The painters work hard. Their work is properly evaluated and paid. Among the 100 employees of Paris Commune receiving highest wages there are 60 painters. However, the increases of wages, which have amounted to over 20 percent on the average, have not caused any increase of labor efficiency. Rewards were proposed to technologists for limiting labor consumption. Nobody was interested in this form of earning money. At the same time a marked decrease of production efficiency occurred, the discipline of work became worse. Unjustified absences from work have increased by 200 percent."

Other speakers supplemented the statement of the chief engineer, improperly performed welding, construction and installation jobs were mentioned. Bitter words of criticism were addressed to the service of quality control.

Zbigniew Biernat, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee, answered those complaining about the overly slow distribution of apartments. An apartment cooperative has been established and housing constructions will start soon. So there is hope that the difficult situation of over 3,000 shipyard workers waiting for apartments will gradually improve.

There were no speakers willing to argue with the critical remarks. The arguments they used were clearly obvious and thought-provoking. I think they were mainly thought-provoking for those whom they concerned.

Campaign Most Important for Party

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 21 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Z. Ceglarek]

[Text] The reports-elections conference of the PZPR city organization was held on 18 November 1983 in the City Cultural Center in Lubon. A total of 88 delegates from 23 basic and 14 branch party organizations active in plants and institutions located in Lubon came to the conference.

Jan Mielcarek, secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR, member of the OOP [branch party organization] at the Poznan Phosphoric Fertilizers Plant in Lubon, was among the delegates to the conference. Also as an invited guests came, among others, Stanislaw Piotrowicz, deputy governor of Poznan Province.

The main problems discussed during the Lubon debate were those of the struggle for class stimulation of the processes of regaining the society's faith and confidence in socialist ideas. These are not simple or easy activities.

This is why the conference deliberated, among other things, on how to improve the system of ideological education and how to assist basic party organizations in using effective methods of political education, how to draw youth to the party, what help must be given to youth organizations.

Another element of interest for the delegates was the rebirth of the economy and modification of the economic reform. There are 10 production plants in Lubon, including two big ones: the WPPZ and the PZNF [Poznan Phosphoric Fertilizers Plant], whose production fulfills important tasks in the economy, but is also sometimes burdensome for the inhabitants. These subjects required discussion during such an important meeting.

Another important problem occupying the delegates were the questions of life in the city. Improvement of the accomodation base for education in Lubon is one of the most urgent tasks. A total of 250 apartments were filled in the Lubonianka settlement during the reporting period. Every year 2 to 3 apartment blocks with 85 apartments are completed. At the same time, 30 individual houses are completed each year as a result of private building. Hence the number of inhabitants of Lubon is growing, as is the number of school children.

Comrades taking part in the discussion at the conference emphasized the social involvement of the inhabitants undertaking social actions to assist in the construction of trading pavillions, in constructing the water and gas system for the city. Six kilometers of water pipes were laid within the framework of social actions, as well as 10 kilometers of sewage pipes; 40 streets were supplied with gas. The total value of social actions amounted to the sum of 50 million zlotys.

During the discussion of the tasks facing the party in the whole country and in Lubon elections were held, as a result of which a 25-member PZPR city committee was chosen. Lechoslaw Szenhofer was elected by the conference to the post of first secretary; he had already been first secretary in the previous term of office in Lubon.

Also, three delegates to the provincial reports-elections conference were elected. The mandates were received by Ryszard Czainski, Jan Mielcarek and Lechoslaw Szenhofer.

The program of activity of the city party organization was adopted at the end of the conference, in which all the main tasks of party work in Lubon in the years 1984-1986 were outlined.

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PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGNS NOTED

Party Regaining Confidence

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 23 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Gedymin: "The First Plant Conference in FMS Polmo; Party Regaining Confidence"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the Polmo Auto Parts Plant, a reports-elections conference of the party organization took place. It was the first such conference on the plant level. Its central issue concerned the detailed review of the past term against the background of the previous years' difficult months and problems of a social and economic nature, impeding any faster recovery from the crisis. Secretary of the PZPR provincial committee Stefan Maksymow took part in the conference.

When discussing the most difficult period in which party membership cards were returned, the outgoing executive board expressed its attitude towards the reasons for those decisions, among which there were also hostile activities: threat, blackmail and creating psychological pressure. But, among those turning in party membership cards, there were also people who used party membership for personal gains, such as an apartment or a car allotment, position, and when they had achieved that, they came to the conclusion that they did not need the party any more.

However, over approximately a year, a positive process of restoring the party's confidence has been noted in the plant, and the best proof of that is the growing number of nonparty-member workers coming to the plant committee with their different complaints, suggestions, requests for mediation or help in solving interhuman conflicts.

Following this, secretary of the PZPR provincial committee presented the evaluation of the FMS [Auto Parts Plant] party organization, which turned out to be positive, in spite of tension and other organizational drawbacks.

Then FMS general manager Janusz Skibinski discussed the realization of assignments by Polmo, which, in the accounted value of production is up-to-date and even slightly better, as e.g., in the Department of Drive Train Assemblies and the Stargard Foundry. The steady increase of work productivity is worth stressing. Over the period of 10 months of the current year, it amounted to 15 percent. The manager evaluated highly the cooperation with the outgoing plant committee, which offered detailed solutions and participated actively in solving the plant's critical problems.

A discussion of many hours followed, during which the participants pointed out examples of acting incorrectly and the possibilities of simple correction of errors, both in economy and in politics. Jozef Bramen pointed out, e.g., poor economy of materials, and gave examples of excessive reserves and poor protection of some materials. Piotr Ptasznik talked about petty bureaucratic formalities accompanying the settlement of seemingly simple affairs, and Tadeusz Fotymski took up the problems of the union organization being created. All comments were full of concern for the development of the plant and its party organization.

The results of the secret voting for the new plant committee plenum and for the secretary of the party organization were announced at the end of the session. Tadeusz Zmitrowicz was reelected first secretary of the plant committee.

Party as Vanguard of Workers Class

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 23 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Party Conference in ZNTK; Vanguard of Workers Class"]

[Text] The party organization of the Railway Rolling Stock Repair Plant held a debate at the 22nd reports-elections conference in Poznan yesterday. Among the 97 of 100 delegates elected in the branch party organizations, the first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Poznan, Edward Lukasik, was also present. He is a member of one of the branch party organizations in ZNTK [Railway Rolling Stock Repair Plant].

A member of the PZPR Central Committee, retired ZNTK worker Hieronim Andrzejewski also took part in the conference. The representatives of Jezyce district party authorities came for the conference, too.

The secretary of the PZPR plant committee, Stefan Antkowiak, presented the paper introducing a discussion. The delegates also acquainted themselves with the reports materials prepared by the plant committee concerning different fields of the party's activity in the plant. In 25 branch party organizations, 614 PZPR members and candidates for members are active. Two dates close the period of the organization's last term:

24 April 1981 and 22 November 1983. Bringing OOP's [branch party organizations] to fully fulfill their statutory duties was the most important party task in ZNTK at that time. In the course of the present campaign and in the discussions at party meetings, the affairs connected with the concern for the country's sociopolitical situation and with the improvement of the style of managing party organizations were taken up. Most of the time, however, was devoted to the plant's production and economic problems and everyday affairs. These meetings--as S. Antkowiak asserted--confirmed the progressing stability of the OOP's. The proof for this is the reelection of the majority of first secretaries and members of branch organizations Executive boards. Fifty-nine party groups were also elected, in which the activists who proved good in the previous term comprise 80 percent.

The conference, with Wieslaw Jankowski in the chair, reelected Stefan Antkowiak first secretary of PZPR plant committee with 95 of 97 votes. A plant committee of 31 persons and an 11-person executive board were also elected.

Thirteen speakers took the floor in the discussion, six voices were placed in the protocol. During the session, the program of activity for the ZNTK party organization in the new term was outlined. The main points of this program concern the further raising of the PZPR's and its members' authority in the plant, improvement in ideological work, and also effective realization of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress and those of the 13th and 14th Central Committee Plenums.

The first secretary of the provincial committee, Edward Lukasik, evaluated highly in his speech the party's activity in the Poznan Railway Rolling Stock Repair Plant. He also stressed the necessity of the party's better and better realization of its leading role as the vanguard of the workers class in the plant.

Party Activities, Tasks

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by W. Jur., Macz: "The Reports-Elections Campaign; Affairs of People of the Sea"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign is under way. In the meetings, the results of party activity are summed up, the awaiting tasks are discussed.

The PZPR plant committee of the Polish Steamship Co in Szczecin is realizing the program of the reports-elections campaign on our largest character's area of activity. The basic question in the course of the preparations for the campaign was: what will the reports-elections campaign do for the party organization and for the entire Polish Steamship Co? At the same time, the campaign's program contains the statement meet the campaign must be a factor in strengthening the party ideologically.

The meetings of POP's [basic party organization] and OOP's [branch party organization] will be over by the 30th of this month. What does this mean for seamen and for the members of the enterprise's party leadership? As early as on 18 October of this year, that is, at the moment the campaign at PZM [Polish Steamship Co] started, it was known that 20 ships would be outside the country's territory throughout this entire period. They left Polish ports before 18 October and will not be back before 30 November. People making up the crews of those vessels will not be able to take part in the enterprise conference, nor will they be able to send their delegates for the conference. This is the only case of incomplete participation of PZPR-member seamen in the campaign, due to occupational-structural reasons. It was agreed upon, and at the same time accepted as irrevocable, that till the end of November every ship of this charterer, which will sail into Polish ports at this time, will hold the POP reports-elections meeting aboard ship.

The meetings of the branch and basic party organizations comprising the land-based cadre are the integral part of the campaign. The meeting of the POP in the Social Section--and exceptionally important unit serving people aboard ships--finished the campaign on land on the 15th of this month. The meeting of the POP in the Technology and Ship Investments Department and in the Supply and Transport Section has already taken place. The meeting of the largest POP, that is, the enterprise's "headquarters," has been held, too.

The necessity of finding ways and means to improve the system of informing the crews about the political, social and economic life in the country is the problem preoccupying the entire circle of the people of the sea--Jerzy Lysakowski, secretary of the PZPR provincial committee for the fleet tells KURIER SZCZECINSKI. "This problem has been periodically appearing for many years now. We understand that there is a shortage of money for the building of modern transmitting equipment--long-range radio stations, but there are less costly ways to keep the information about the country up to date. Therefore, we postulate the use, to a larger extent, of the possibilities of the contacts between Polish ships and Polish diplomatic posts. They are located in countries that have seaports to which our vessels sail. Sometimes it will be a lecture by an employee of an embassy or a consulate, at other times just concise information about what is going on in the country....

Acquiring priority for the establishment of telephone service in the seamen's apartments is another matter fought for by the PZM party organization. Apparently, everything is simple and obvious: every seaman should have the possibility of communicating with the family home. Now that the voyage time has increased, it is a burning problem. Unfortunately, the management of our telecommunications still thinks that telephone service should be granted uniformly--according to the order of received applications.

Another subject concerning people of the sea and their affairs is also present in the discussion.

Fables about seamen's enormous salaries are still being created, people say at meetings. There are sporadic cases of smuggling, e.g., of coffee, aboard ships, but no one says that this is marginal....

In leading weeklies pseudo-reports appear which present us as swindlers and thieves. Today, if one really wants to work in the merchant fleet, one will not engage in smuggling, because fraud ends in punishment and firing from PZM--as was stressed in the discussion.

Similar postulates were formulated in many ship OOP's, with the difference that party-member seamen decided to influence entire ship crews to a greater degree.

"A telephone call through Gdynia Radio or Szczecin Radio costs a seaman 280 zlotys for 3 minutes", Jerzy Lysakowski returns in our talk to the already mentioned problem of communication with land. "This price is far too high. A regular call, inside or outside the country, costs much less; as we calculated, approximately 50 zlotys for 3 minutes. In our opinion, means from the social fund must be found to cover a part of the communication costs."

"The party organization is aware of these problems and will strive to solve them", concludes Jerzy Lysakowski.

The meeting of the POP of the Polish Steamship Co's Social Section finished the reports-elections campaign in the enterprise's land organizations. The POP of 89 members is composed of four party groups. The basic problems of the state's and party's social policy for seamen, their families and land workers, as realized by the enterprise, were very lively discussed, both in groups and at the reports-elections meeting. Much attention was devoted to intraparty affairs, ideological education, cooperation with the newly created workers self-government, Seamen's Union, ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Zyta Kurk was reelected first secretary.

Party Responsibility For Its Own Affairs

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "From the PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign; Party Responsibility For Its Own Affairs"]

[Text] The PZPR reports-elections campaign in Gdansk and Szczecin Provinces has reached the new stage. In the Gdansk Province party organization, the reports-elections meetings were already held in all 754 groups and in 2,215 OOP's and POP's, which comprises 76 percent of their total number. In Elblag Province such meetings were held in 80 percent of branch and basic organizations.

Recently, in both provinces, the reports-elections conferences of party organizations have started in gminas, towns and large plants. In Gdansk Province conferences were held, among others, in Kosakowo and Chmielno gminas and in Reda. In Elblag Province the conference took place in Ostaszewo gmina.

Yesterday, the gmina reports-elections conference of the PZPR debated in Suleczyn. Candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, took part in the conference. Zbigniew Brunke, manager of the regional party work center in Kartuzy, was also present.

The report of the PZPR gmina committee executive board was presented to the delegates by the first secretary of the PZPR gmina committee in Suleczyn, Kazimierz Krynicki. He discussed the activity of the gmina organization and party local authorities in the past term. It was a difficult period in the party's life. However, the course of the reports-elections campaign in POP's showed that recently the party's authority has been strengthened, the effectiveness of party's activity in the gmina increased, the PZPR members' discipline improved.

Much attention, both in the paper and in the lively discussion, was devoted to socioeconomic affairs. According to the previous conference's resolution, the problems of roads and water supply for villages were taken care of in the past term. The repairing of 18 kilometers of roads was the realization of people's postulates. The 1983 capital expenditures for the building of rural waterworks amount to 10 million zlotys.

The question of the hitherto not realized plans caused a lively discussion. In Suleczyn it is necessary to build a new health center in order to improve health care for the rural population and vacationers coming to this gmina in summer. The building of a collective gmina elementary school as well as apartments for teachers, nurses and doctors are urgent investments, too.

When discussing the gmina's most important problem--agricultural production--the necessity to improve the quality of machines and equipment was pointed out. In the gmina a certain standstill is noted in buying fertilizers, of which there is plenty. This year's drought, which decreased the amount of crop and thus also farmers' income, was considered to be the reason for this situation. Loans for the purchase of fertilizers should be made available to those farmers who do not have their own resources.

Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee, took the floor in the discussion. He evaluated highly the contents and the course of the conference. He said that a number of affairs, important for the country, the province and the gmina, were taken up. When referring to the detailed problems brought up in the discussion, the speaker pointed out that the possibility of solving some of those problems by means of the party's own resources, by working voluntarily, should be taken under consideration.

When talking about the course of the party's reports-elections campaign, which has already reached the halfway mark, the provincial committee first secretary said that a number of new people, without experience in party work, were elected positions of authority, both in POP's and on different levels of administration. The work, among others, of an instructional kind should be organized in such a way that those comrades are helped in realizing the tasks which are new for them.

During the conference the meritorious social activist, Alfons Synak, was decorated with the Cavalier Cross of Poland's Revival. Four party candidates were handed party membership cards. Several PZPR activists were given PZPR provincial committee certificates of appreciation.

During the conference, a PZPR gmina committee, audit commission and the delegate to the PZPR provincial conference, were elected. Kazimierz Krynicki was reelected first secretary of the PZPR gmina committee in Suleczyn.

At the end of the debate, the gmina party organization's program of activity for the years 1984-1985 was adopted.

Yesterday, in Gdansk Province, conferences also took place in Wladyslawowo Szkuner, the Gdansk Provincial Office, and the Gdansk Refinery Works. Provincial committee secretaries Bogdan Daszkiewicz and Edward Kijek took part in those conferences. A reports-elections conference, with the participation of the secretary of the provincial committee, Mieczyslaw Stefanski, was also held in Linia.

The campaign was also concluded at plant organizations in the Elblag Construction Factory, the Malbork PKP [Polish State Railways] Junction and the Warmia Fruit and Vegetable Processing Factory in Kwidzen.

12436
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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES DETAILED

Party Plant Conference

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 26-27 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (j.m.)]

[Text] Friday's plant conference represented the last stage of the PZPR reports-elections campaign within the limits of the party organization of the PKP [Polish State Railways] Center in Poznan. Participants included 145 delegates of the 148 chosen at the center's branch party organization conferences. Among others, Edward Lukasik, PZPR KW [provincial committee] first secretary, and Wilda Eugeniusz Lominski, PZPR KD [city section committee] first secretary from Poznan, turned up at the deliberations.

The discussion dealt primarily with party problems, specifically the consolidation of the membership, ideological training, and PKP problems with, particular consideration for the Poznan Center. The party debate was characterized by a new atmosphere, similar to that which took place during the branch conferences. Many more opinions concerned the strengthening of the party ranks, increased discipline, fulfillment of party resolutions and programs. The resolutions of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, whose significance was stressed by many participants, had an unquestionable influence upon this. Discussions concerned everyday complaints and problems which have created the current economic situation in the nation.

As is evident from the course of the conference, the party organization has maintained its ideological and inured nucleus, its leading role in the factories, and within the Poznan railroad network. The railway employees have demonstrated through their everyday normal work that they represent a responsible professional group. Many party members have confirmed or won this right because of their commendable avoidance of activists during the struggle, and insofar as difficult dialogue and political and ideological confrontations were concerned.

The employment situation has become the primary obstacle to the economic activities of the enterprises. It was stressed that numerous workers have been forced to work 300 hours or more monthly to ensure that the railways function properly. At the same time, only sporadic improvement in the situation is evident, and this is only due to the many initiatives taken by the workers and the higher standard of organizational efficiency. Above all, the status of employment in the transportation sector is critical. In connection with this it was acknowledged that the public should learn the truth about the state of the rail transportation system, so that its opinions would not be injurious to the railway employees, especially those who have made great efforts to improve the quality of the service. At the same time, the railway workers realize that there are those among them who through their behavior are destroying the efforts of the others. During the discussion, it was suggested that such problems could be prevented if railway employees and party members would satisfy their clients, and thereby become worthy of the name of industrious PKP workers.

All the participants at the session also received valuable written information, specifically that concerning the fulfillment of resolutions and proposals during the previous term. In addition, each one was able to recall the meaning of the proposal submitted, the addressee, and the manner in which it was settled. In total, 71 of the proposals in the report were discussed.

New officials and a new plant committee were appointed during the course of the conference. The former KZ [plant committee] first secretary, Mark Minski, received the support of the participants and was once again elected to this demanding position.

Bialystok Plenum on Education Problems

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 26-27 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (kp, rb)]

[Text] Yesterday's plenary session of the Bialystok PZPR KW was devoted to the functioning and course of development of the educational system in Bialystok Province up to 1990. Wladzimierz Kolodziejuk, the PZPR KW first secretary, chaired the session.

The current state of education in Bialystok Province and the tasks for the near future were presented in the report given by Stanislaw Sekowski, the director of the PZPR KW Education, Upbringing and Culture Department.

One of the courses adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resolution was the democratization of life in the schools, and the development of the self-governing abilities of the students and teachers. The prerequisite for the realization of this program is the condition of the public structures and the quality of their activities.

The number of party members has decreased in comparison with last year. Particularly agitating is the small number of academics within PZPR ranks. The level and effectiveness of party school organizations varies greatly. Above all, they are dependent upon the activism of the POP members themselves, as well as the work climate being established by school directors. A strong party organization is an indispensable condition for the creation of a totally socialist educational level on every school echelon.

The resolutions of the 12th and 13th Plenums attach particular importance to the rebirth process of the socialist trade unions. The ZNP [Polish Teachers Union] is currently organizing over 75 percent of the teachers into unions. This union has already passed the preliminary stage and can now undertake those statutory activities adopted by the ideological and program declaration. The state of development of the union movement in the colleges appears to be rather unfavorable--only 12 percent of the professors have been unionized.

In comparison with last year, a certain development, organizational strengthening, and an improvement in the quality of work was accomplished by the school and college youth organizations which were operating in the region. The presence of these organizations, however, continues to be inadequate in the colleges. The absence of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] in the Warsaw University branches is particularly disturbing. College party organizations must definitely devote more attention to the development and strengthening of the socialist youth organizations, and especially the ZSP [Polish Student Association].

In addition to the sociopolitical, the condition of the educational material base represents a second group of elements which stipulate the operational quality of the educational system. Bialystok Province needs in this are substantial. They are being caused by an increasing number of conditions, neglected investments of prior years, the extent of destruction of buildings, slow rate of construction, and concern for an improvement in education and upbringing.

During the discussion, the speakers stressed that it is necessary to establish the conditions for liberating education from those tasks not related to education, for example, driving children to school and organizing meals. Enormous reserves continue to exist within the rural education organization and management system. Leonard Woronowicz, a teacher from Szudzialowo Gmina, proposed the establishment of district educational inspectorates which would also solve the problem of pedagogic counseling in the rural sector.

Much attention was devoted to the problem of preparation of the youth cadres for upbringing tasks. It was not only the methodologists but also the teachers who discussed these matters, and they noted the need for additional training considering that 800 Bialystok Province teachers do not possess professional qualifications. Irena Grabowiecka, a high school teacher from Bialystok, focused attention on social matters, emphasizing the need for resolving them so that teachers could then devote all their time to education and upbringing activities.

Discussion participants also focused attention upon the role of the youth organizations in the school milieu. It was suggested that future teachers ought to become familiar during their training with the subject matter which they will be teaching, for example, in such organizations as scout groups.

A series of specific proposals were submitted, from which it was evident that the plenum participants recognize the education of children and youth as the principal political task.

At the conclusion of the plenary session, the participants adopted a resolution concerning conditions for the functioning and development of the educational system in the province until 1990. We read in the resolution that the plenum notes the fact that the activities of the party and the education authorities must serve to create equilibrium and harmony in the accomplishment, by the individual levels, of their instructive, educational, and guardian functions.

Demographic rural areas, neglect of investments and repairs, discord between residential construction and the educational infrastructure have currently created a great demand. Their solution under conditions of preliminary crisis resolution will be difficult. These problems can be coped with through the maximum linkage of budgetary government expenditures together with factory and public participation.

Basic Party Organization Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 26-27 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski]

[Text] There are rows of tables occupied on both sides by 65 delegates from 14 basic party organizations. At the back of the room under a decorated wall is the chairman's table occupied by the KZ [plant committee] executive board members and the PZPR KW first secretary, Wladzimierz Kolodziejuk, who have been invited to the sessions. Present among the delegates, who were mostly workers, were Tadeusz Trzaskowski, KW secretary, Zbigniew Dybiczanski, the managing director of the Directorate of the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops in Warsaw, and local authorities.

The first Bialystok facotory conference of the reports-elections campaign, consisting of a 360-member party organization of the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops], is beginning in Lapy. Procedural matters come first: election of a chairman, a mandate committee, an electoral committee, proposals and resolutions. Are there any comments, proposals, who approves and who opposes? Initially everything proceeds smoothly without an excessive

waste of time. This is important because some of the delegates live outside of Lapy, some even quite far, and it is a well-known fact how the trains are running. When dusk sets in, however, the participants will be reassured by the fact that cars have been prepared for them.

Mieczyslaw Subocz, KZ first secretary, takes the floor. The executive board report includes the term from 23 April 1981, which represented a very difficult period for the entire party and nation, as well as for the organization in Lapy, and also for the residents of the railway city so closely linked with the plant.

It is not surprising that in totaling up the pluses and minuses of the 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ year term one recalls various facts illustrating the conditions under which the organization is functioning. Nowhere else in the province was the political struggle as tense as in Lapy. It was precisely here in the factories boasting over 100 years of working-class tradition that attempts were made to eliminate the party.

Colleagues have determined in their report that we were faced with various types of insinuations and slander. We were blamed for the mistakes of the leadership and the resultant everyday problems. It was not easy to repel these attacks, since we were not armed with the necessary information and arguments. We were dependent upon our own experience, intuition and press information. In any case, we also had our personal indecisions and resentment against the policy of the former party and government leadership which had brought about the crisis.

Not all the party members within the ZNTK were able to stand up to the pressure exerted by the political opposition and remain in the party ranks. Some resigned on their own, others were expelled for behavior unworthy of a PZPR member. As a consequence the factory party organization decreased by 108 persons.

Is this a loss or a gain? To a certain degree it is a loss, since honest people also left the party during the confusion. It also represented a gain, since organizational and ideological strengthening also took place, and this became especially apparent following the political crisis and was confirmed during the reports-elections meeting in the basic organizations.

Subocz notes that among the matters considered at the meetings the dominant ones were those which concerned living and working conditions of the railway employees. Although recently much has changed for the better in the factories, there are still many areas of labor which require improvement. The supply system and intrafactory transportation are also at fault.

During the course of the discussions, the participants submitted 53 proposals which largely concerned labor organization and conditions. Many proposals, however, were addressed to the city authorities, the district administration, and the central authorities. For example, the improvement

in local commerce is an important matter which despite numerous interventions disregards the needs of the workers' families. The workers work on Saturdays while commerce operates at its own will.

Let us take the issue of housing construction. Recently, six buildings were turned over for occupancy, and currently two more are being built. Future construction development, however, is dependent upon the construction of a generator plant and gas plant from Bialystok, for which the factories have set aside 40 million zlotys and have announced their continued participation.

Access to work. The workers are employed by the PKP which, however, impedes their work. The trains run irregularly and with great delays.

The secretary points out that these and other matters were considered by the KZ and the executive board. In addition, the KZ undertook intra-party problems attempting to activate the organization and its members directly. As a rule, the letters and matters presented by those concerned were settled in a positive manner.

Noting that the majority of the proposals of the previous conference were carried out, that the party organization is again visible in the factories, Comrade Subocz admitted that there are still some weaknesses in its work. Party discipline is not suitable in all party organizations, and not all members have demonstrated activism, and what is worse, many are still indifferent. Therefore, in discussing the most important organizational tasks, he stresses the need for compliance with party tasks, the carrying out of ideological schooling, inclusion of party members in the restoration trend, among other things, by supporting the new trade unions.

The factory audit commission report focused the delegates' attention on the shortcomings. Accenting the positive elements, the commission recognizes that attendance at certain POP meetings was not high, many members were late in paying their dues, and not all the organizations registered the OOP proposals and settled them, and there were also members who had been on the membership rolls for a long time.

Discussion is beginning. Kazimierz Lapinski who stressed the need for gasification of the city is followed by Ryszard Kalwatowicz, the managing director of the plants. He reports to his colleagues on the situation in the factory over the past 10 months, and the prospects for this year and next. The situation is not bad, as evidenced by the repair of 876 more freight cars than in the analogous period last year. The employment situation has improved, work output and earnings have also risen.

He indicates that these results, however, cannot conceal the working conditions. They are not easy, despite continued investments. Work in the factories is difficult and demands great physical exertion. Meanwhile rolling stock users augment the problems. The shops have been repairing railroad cars for 113 years, but the railcars have never returned from their destinations in as bad shape as they do now.

We are aware of the needs of freight transport because of our pivotal position at the PKP. We are the only factories in the country which repair four-axle closed freight cars. Therefore there is a need to accelerate the construction begun on a new large repair hall. Its competition will allow for increased production and a radical improvement in living and working conditions.

In his presentation, director Karwatowicz also discusses the professional and public attitudes of the work force. In stressing their commitment he notes, however, that these are people who must improve their work, especially as far as the quality of repairs and efficient use of working time are concerned.

Lucjan Slusarczyk is the next speaker. He returns to the difficult period of struggle with the political opposition, during which peoples' personalities were revealed. Therefore, despite our experiences he stresses that we must be responsible for accepting members into the party. Our strength is not in quantity but rather in quality.

Continuing, he focuses the delegates' attention on the significance of ideological work in the organization, on organization support of nonparty members who agree with the party program, and activation of party members in the struggle with those who are disrupting the peace. He emphasizes that party member participation in the trade union movement development is vital.

Dusk falls but the discussion does not abate. It concerns production, public, and intraparty matters. Lucjan Soljan talks about the public's negative and positive attitudes, from which it is evident that there is a need for greater party cell activity within the factories. He notes that we see many party sympathizers and should therefore seek closer contact with them in order to solve the various issues.

Tadeusz Jedruchy, trade union chairman, notes that there are many issues to be taken care of here in the factories and in the city. This was indicated by an employment review. He reports on the preliminary union activities and the fact that 335 workers are members. Since there appears to be a wait-and-see attitude toward the union, an appeal is made at the conference for party member support of the union.

The subsequent speakers are Jan Jablonski and Stanislaw Bartomiejczuk. They discuss material shortages and suggest certain modifications. Demonstrating the worker's hard work, they express concern over the attitudes of young people who apply for work, and even before beginning work they want to know what they will get out of it.

The discussion continues. The speakers discuss the problem of poor supply and the functioning of local commerce, and neglect of recreation facilities and streets. Several participants share their comments on the proposed food price increases, and the opinions are divided.

Zenon Niwinski, KMG [city-gmina committee] first secretary; Tadeusz Zdrojewski, city manager; and Zbigniew Dybiczanski, ZNTK director, consider the issues which have been discussed. They share the opinions of the PTNK workers, and illustrate the objective difficulties in the solution of certain issues and promise to solve those which are realistic.

Wladzimierz Kolodziejuk, PZPR KW first secretary, enters into the evaluation of the executive board report and opinions during the discussions. He stresses that the ZNTK party organization was working in an atmosphere full of tension. Although some of the participants yielded, nevertheless the party organization came out of the crisis strengthened. During its term it settled many matters in keeping with the party program. Nonetheless, many serious problems remain which demand continued consolidation and activism, above all from the basic cells which exist in society, and centering around the life of the work force.

The ZNTK party conference in Lapy concludes with the election of Mieczyslaw Subocz as plant committee first secretary, and the election of delegates to the city-gmina conference, as well as adoption of the program of activities for 1984-1985. The conference proved that despite difficult conditions, party organizations are increasingly able to participate in surmounting the economic crisis and in the renewal of sociopolitical life.

First Regional Reports-Elections Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 26-27 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] The first regional reports-elections conference took place in Sokolec last Sunday, 20 November 1983, with the participation of over 50 delegates from seven gminas and the PCK [Polish Red Cross] provincial administration secretary, Zbigniew Niepokojczycki. Both the report and the discussion devoted much attention to the former activities of the local Red Cross organizations and the development of a specific program of activities for the next 5 years. Primarily, they debated the crucial issues concerning PCK work, among other things, how to improve the care of the elderly, lonely, and those confined by illness, how to take care of voluntary blood donations, spreading humanitarian ideas among the youth, and medical education in the rural communities.

The activities of the PCK school groups in Pawlowicze, Koryciny, and Krynski, as well as those of factory groups in the Highways Administration, and the CPN and GS Petroleum Products enterprise in Sokolec, were discussed with approbation. In addition, the medical services at the high school and the Stolbud Construction Carpentry enterprise in Sokolec were singled out.

The chairmen of former PCK gmina administration units which were dissolved were thanked for their civic work.

An 11-member district administration board was elected at the conference. Dr Romuald Narelow, who had been the director of the ZOZ [health care team] first aid service, became chairman, while Henryk Wasilewski became secretary. Krystyna Marczuk and Jerzy Goryn will become the vice chairmen.

Eleven delegates will represent the Sokolec region at the PCK provincial congress which will take place during the second quarter of 1984.

12229
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DAILY SUMMARIZES WORKERS' SPEECHES AT 13TH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 258, 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Piotr Rzadca:"At the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee:
Labor Aspirations; Labor Problems"]

[Text] If we catalog the comments workers-members of the Central Committee expressed at the plenum, they will create a distinct analytical pattern, reflecting a portrait of the aspirations and problems of today's working class.

Applying the Past to the Future

"How did it happen, argued Jerzy Kurdziel, lathe turner foreman at Unitra-Telpod in Krakow," that they who were the greatest opponents to the building of socialism...captured the minds of a sizeable group of a generation of children, who thanks to socialism, moved out of chicken coops, learned to read and write, acquired a skill, a job and housing--in a word, social advancement previously unimaginable?"

These reflections had nothing in common with bitter recollection, but they represented a drawing of conclusions from the past for the future. The speaker continued, stating: "Frequently party members were unable to oppose hostile opinions contradicting any socialist achievements whatsoever, even though we in Krakow have Nowa Huta and its plant nearby, and even though adjoining us lies the thriving village of Podhale, where 20-30 years ago it was impossible to make ends meet."

Therefore, why did it happen that way?

"We did not embrace our traditions, we did not disseminate them, we revived them on anniversary occasions, but we did not introduce them to public awareness on a daily basis. It appears that even though we were aware of our reasons, we did not see any need for solidifying them in the minds of workers. That was a political mistake."

This same line of analysis of the past, but also an assessment of the present-day situation, was pursued by Jerzy Maniawski, (first secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee] at the Nitrogen Plants in Tarnow): "In asking the question,

what is the inherent source of currently undesirable views and the current conditions of public awareness, one must honestly reply that underlying this are numerous failures in the ideological sphere, as well as various false mottoes from the past, and the cult of excessive possession of goods popularized in the 1970's...private interests, furnishing one's home at any cost, living beyond one's means, even on credit. A large role was likewise played by the popularization of standards foreign to our system--downgrading of the value of honest work, toleration of the pompous life at public expense, as well as numerous examples of easy life without work....

"It must be admitted that we have not yet done much, even lately, to condemn this 'philosophy,' to put an end to its sources. During the economic crisis, a considerable escalation in the number of these cases took place...contempt for hard, honest work is the prevailing fad...."

A significant supplement to these opinions was expressed by Jerzy Janicki, assistant technical manager at ZPC [Sugar Plant] in Warsaw. He stated: "The counterrevolution was not conceived in the womb of the working class but rather in intellectual and neomiddle class circles. It was then smuggled into the factories...."

Critical Reflections and Demands

Having given a good deal of thought to measures for strengthening party ties with the working class, the conferees critically assessed the negative phenomena still occurring in our lifetime and also presented their demands.

"Workers await full implementation of the ideas of social justice by their party," said Jerzy Nastalczyk, a machine adjuster at the ZPW [Textile Plant], Zeltar, in Lodz Province, "but in observing, for example, the progress of firms with the participation of foreign capital for private plants, they ask whether the party fully strives to socialize the means of production. I am completely aware that this incident is marginal, but at the same time it confuses workers."

Jerzy Blaszak, assistant manager of the Mechanical Smelting Works, Batory, in Chorzow, came up with similar questions: "It is likewise known that ideology, being the manifesto of a given class, strengthens its cohesion and assists in the struggle to take its true place in society. In view of the above elementary truths...the question arises..what do we intend to do...for socialism...to draw closer from year to year and not further away. It is relevant for the worker to know that under his social form of government, as time goes by he and his family are better off."

Zofia Stepień, an employee at Poland's Stradom [Central Union] CZPL, in Częstochowa, spoke on responsibility and viewed the attitudes of some of the young people:

"It is no mystery that the crisis places the greatest burden on the shoulders of the work force, people who depend only on their work for a livelihood. Apart from efforts to provide more staple goods, we must see to it that they

are fairly distributed. Also relevant is the fair delegation of responsibility for decisions adopted and the results of undertakings.... Many times, for example, the television or press has exhibited outright unpardonable aspects of plant mismanagement, whereas the showing of sanctions for erroneous decisions and actions were limited to a few cases.

"The workers understand," she stated, as if explaining to the speakers preceding her, "that services are necessary and that perhaps the private sector can do this, but they cannot very well comprehend that young people, enterprising and capable professionals, often possessing educational qualifications and who are very necessary to the economy, flee the plants or colleges and set up stands with goods or start making moccasins and souvenirs."

The Struggle for Awareness

It is worthwhile to turn to those comments that reflected the struggle for workers' awareness and the expansion of their influence on national life.

"During discussions with workers," Kazimierz Skwara, KWK [hard coal mine] foreman at the Ziemowit Mine in Katowice Province, said, "it appears that economic reform has not yet reached the labor rank and file. It stopped at the management cadre level and staff economists. And since that is so, we do not wonder that the concept of reform is commonly reduced to wages, prices and the cost of living. Work and productivity are left somewhere on the side. Management at plants should be required to give an account regarding its concern for the level of economic education for workers. This is an important ideological-training task for the party."

"We speak candidly," Leszek Kordowicz, welding foreman at Gazycka in Suwalki Province, stated, "that the party adopted the August demands for implementation, and it is true that the Ninth Congress even pointed out how and when their fulfillment will be possible. However, we will not be able to approach the workers with this truth yet."

"Socialism as a form of government of the state," Jerzy Nastalczyk emphasized, "was never contested by the workers--socialism, as equality for opportunities, but not equality for services, socialism as social justice; currently alleviating the working class from being exclusively responsible for overcoming the crisis. The party worker in a factory finds himself in the front lines of the struggle for party positions must, therefore, know its policy and intentions, and likewise possess arguments to defend the party line more validly." And then he brought up an unusually important problem.

"The reality of the influence of the working class on the life of the nation depends on the growth of its ideological moral maturity, education and culture. I do not know whether internal discriminations against the working class are adequately investigated. But it can be stated that the state of the moods and consciousness of many groups of workers flows from a decline in their level and standard of living. We must effectively curb these developments, and provide

for a more comprehensive inclusion of the working class in the socioeconomic transformation."

Once again let us return to the statements of Jerzy Janicki in these matters, who said:

"The guiding role of the party proceeds primarily from the fact that it is the party of the people's principal strength, and that of the working class. Therefore, the loss of its working class status by the party deprives it of the chief right to portray the role of leader in society and manager in the state. However, talk alone will not suffice. The working class character of the party must be constantly confirmed in practice, and therefore, in a concern for the interest of the working class, the social framework of the party, the participation of workers in party government."

This fragment from Jerzy Kurdziel's presentation can be described as a characteristic recapitulation, in which he said:

"The ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of Poles is in progress everywhere. Its most important sphere is in the plants. Because here we speak of class awareness-hegemony, the awareness of workers, who decide on the state of Poland."

A specific reply to demands for strengthening the role of the working class in the life of the nation was found in the speech of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who said, among other things:

"Before us lies the great task of expanding the plane on which the main role of the working class should express itself practically and more effectively.... The working class, as the true manager should benefit fully from possibilities which are given to it by professional unions, self-regulations of enterprises, territorial self-regulations. Increasingly stronger working class representation should be found in parliament, national councils and various other representative bodies. We shall expand the public survey system, conduct labor meetings, such as the March meeting. The system of labor inspection can become a new very essential area.... On the other hand, the strengthening of the party's labor bloc should be especially important to use, as well as concern for adequate participation of workers on all levels of its government.

9951

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ROMANIA

REPORT ON SESSION OF LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Dec 83 p 5

/Unattributed article: "The Proceedings of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils"

/Text/ On Wednesday, 14 December, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, convened by means of Presidential Decree No 276/1983, analyzed and debated documents of maximum importance to the country's economic and social development on a territorial basis in 1984.

Comrades Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the State Council, Stefan Mocuta, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils, and representatives of ministries, central bodies and mass and public organizations participated in the proceedings.

Opening the session, Comrade Manea Manescu stressed that the proceedings of the Legislative Chamber were taking place under the conditions of a strong involvement of all the working people in our homeland, who, closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are acting with self-sacrifice to fulfill and overfulfill the provisions of the plan for this year and to steadily carry out the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference of the party regarding our country's passage to a new stage of development and the achievement of a new quality of work and life in all fields of activity.

The participants in the proceedings unanimously adopted the following agenda:

1. The election of the Bureau of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils.
2. The draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on a Territorial Basis, in 1984.
3. The draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry in 1984.

4. The drafts of the local budgets for 1984.
5. The Program Regarding the Application of the Self-Management and Self-Supply Measures for Providing to the Population a Good Supply of Agricultural and Food Products and Industrial Consumer Goods in the Period of 1 October 1983-30 September 1984.

In conformity with the provisions of the operating regulations, the Legislative Chamber elected, for a period of 1 year, the new bureau, composed of Comrades: Maria Gheorghe, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Neamt County People's Council, to the position of chairman of the chamber; Nicolae Hurbean, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alba County People's Council, Ioan Popa, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Constanta County People's Council, and Elena Chirita, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Calarasi County People's Council, to the position of vice chairmen; Gheorghe Gavrus, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Dolj County People's Council, Sara Santa, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Covasna County People's Council, and Stefan Birceri, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Municipality of Bucharest, as secretaries of the Legislative Chamber.

The draft laws subjected to debate were presented by Comrades Petre Preoteasa, minister-state secretary and first vice chairman of the State Planning Committee, Ion Zipis, deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry, Gheorghe Picos, deputy minister of finance, and Dumitru Petrescu, first deputy minister of domestic trade.

The following comrades spoke on the drafts presented: Laurean Tulai, Bihor County; Ion Fratila, Vaslui County; Letitia Ionas, Salaj County; Constantin Radu, municipality of Bucharest; Ernest Szotyori, Mures County; Neculai Ibanescu, Iasi County; Elena Pugna, Timis County; Constantin Bulugiu, Dolj County; Eugenia Dragolici, Mehedinți County; Nicolae Beuran, Cluj County; Ecaterina Vosian, Tulcea County; Gheorghe Ciorman, Caras-Severin County; Dumitru Neacsu, Prahova County; Gheorghe Hrubaru, Vrancea County; Victoria Ene, Dimbovita County; Stelian Ionescu, Giurgiu County; Vasile Carolica, Buzau County; Gheorghe Glodeanu, Ialomita County; Karol Gheorghe Wolf, Brasov County; Iuliana Haidu, Satu Mare County; and Gheorghe Lucian Buzdugan, Neamt County.

The thorough debates that took place on the documents put on the agenda demonstrated strongly the fact that the provisions of the plan and budget and the self-management and self-supply program for next year were worked out under the direct guidance and with the decisive contribution of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Referring to the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of Romania, on a Territorial Basis, in 1984, the speakers stressed that its objectives are in accord with the orientations established by the 12th congress and the national conference of the party and with the instructions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, reflect strikingly the party's and state's policy of balanced development of all zones of the country and provide conditions so that all counties may attain the economic potential established by means of the 5-year plan.

In the light of the orientations formulated by the head of the party and state, the speakers indicated that all the people's councils have established concrete measures that have in view the development of the base of energy and raw materials, the growth of the physical output, under the conditions of using the material, financial and human resources with maximum efficiency, the complete attainment of the investment objectives and of housing construction, the more marked utilization of local reserves, the recovery and utilization of reusable materials, the reduction of the consumption of materials, energy and fuel, and the growth of the activity in the fields of services and small-scale industry at a steady rate.

During the debates, it was noted that the growth of exports and the rationalization of imports, as a basic orientation placed by the secretary general of the party before all the staffs of working people, for achieving a favorable and even balance of foreign trade, are thoroughly reflected in the proposals of the draft plan.

In connection with the big tasks that go to agriculture in 1984, the members of the Legislative Chamber who participated in the debates emphasized the necessity that the agricultural units and the people's councils provide for the obtaining of bigger and bigger vegetable and animal outputs, by using the land resources with maximum efficiency and raising their production potential, by sensibly utilizing the machines, by mobilizing the whole population of the villages to do all agricultural work on time and under qualitatively higher conditions, by strictly following the new technologies, by generalizing the advanced experience and by strengthening the order and discipline in all sectors of activity. In the spirit of the documents of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 14-15 November and the masterly speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent Conference on Problems of Agriculture, an accent was put on the urgent necessity that all agricultural units act to reach the targets for growth in production, to fulfill the provisions on the deliveries to the state supply and to increase the contracting for and purchases of products, with a view to providing as good a supply as possible for the population.

In their remarks, the speakers indicated that, on the basis of the good results obtained in 1983 and the lessons drawn from the activity thus far, the new provisions, which correspond fully to the possibilities in each county, will be fulfilled in an exemplary manner. In this regard, it was indicated that, responding to the advice of the secretary general of the party, the people's councils and the work staffs in all the economic units will act firmly to prepare the 1984 plan as well as possible, so that the activity may be performed steadily from the first days of the new year.

The drafts of the local budgets for 1984 were examined carefully during the debates. Stressing that they were drawn up in complete accord with the indicators given in the draft of the sole national plan, the speakers noted that the new provisions furnish the resources needed for completely financing the objectives and actions supplied for the people's councils and reflect the orientations and measures referring to the firm application of the principles of the new economic and financial mechanism, the growth of incomes, the substantial reduction of expenses, especially the material, fuel and energy expenses, the

application of a strict policy of economy in all fields of activity, the growth of the efficiency of each leu invested or spent, the continual growth of the self-financing of the territorial-administrative units on the basis of their own incomes, the consolidation of the financial equilibrium, and the strengthening of the order and discipline in the utilization of public money.

The members of the Legislative Chamber who analyzed the draft Program Regarding the Application of the Self-Management and Self-Supply Measures indicated that this document brings out strikingly the constant concern of our party and state and, personally, of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for continually improving the living conditions of the whole populace. It was stressed that bigger quantities of products, meant to satisfy better the requirements of the population, are provided for next year, along with the growth of the concerns for diversifying their range and improving their quality. At the same time, it was noted that the program is based on the real resources of the economy, on the possibilities existing in each county, and completely cover the rational consumption needs of the population.

Many proposals concerning the documents put in discussion and forwarded to the Council of Ministers were made during the proceedings.

On behalf of the people's councils, the Legislative Chamber assured the party and state leadership and the secretary general of the party and the chairman of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the workers in the local bodies of state power and administration will act to fulfill in an exemplary manner the tasks that devolve upon them in 1984 and in the whole 5-year period and to further develop all counties and localities of the homeland. At the same time, the members of the chamber expressed the firm determination to raise the activity of the people's councils to the level of the great tasks and responsibilities that devolve upon them and to greet with special achievements in labor the 40th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation on 23 August 1944 and the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

In the close of the proceedings, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils adopted resolutions by means of which the draft laws put on the agenda were approved unanimously.

12105
CSO: 2700/84

RELIGIOUS RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS 'SQUELCH' CHILD'S CURIOSITY

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian Dec 83 p 10

[Article by Paul Popescu-Nevezanu: "The Harmfulness of Responses Which 'Squelch' the Natural Curiosity of the Child"]

[Excerpts] There are situations in which children, especially small children, insistently demand replies to the strangest questions, questions to which a suitable response, especially a scientific one, is not always at hand. Some people, especially grandparents, resort to the well-known religious parables which have remained in their memory ever since their childhood. There are even some people who maintain that such religious parables and legends are more rapidly understood and accepted by children.

In cases in which the family uses such "tactics" to explain, by biblical parables, the phenomena which the natural curiosity of the child brings into his area of interest, these pseudoexplanations automatically come into conflict with what the children learn in school, in geography, biology, physics, chemistry and other classes. Therefore, I am asking why parents take the chance of keeping their anachronistic attitudes which might ultimately earn them the contempt of their own children? And there is another aspect. In time, the child, when he becomes a student, will experience difficulties in orienting himself since there will be contradictions between what he has learned at home, in the family, and what he has learned in school.

The claims of grandparents or parents that they use religious "stories" only on a limited and fragmented basis, in the early childhood of the child, can have undesired consequences. The religious legends having ideas about divinity and about the supernatural force which, unseen, supposedly governs the world sow in the mind of the child the seed of an alienating concept.

Launched on the road of religiosity, the child will form for himself a "complex," which is nurtured by unhealthy fantasies, fears and vain hopes, plus a paralyzing submission to a mysterious and terrifying omnipotence. Such responses do not assuage the curiosity of the child for the moment, a curiosity which some people find to be irritating. They "amputate" it and squelch it. Religious responses only humiliate the young mind, eager to learn, and leave it defenseless; responses which appeal to "the eternal truths of religion" do not bring the child closer to reality; they alienate him and put him on the one-way street of a deforming subjectivism, which, instead of stimulating his gift of curiosity, causes it to atrophy, leaving the child defenseless in his confrontation with life, causing him to look toward a phantom-like horizon rather than reality, a horizon which is never open to authentic knowledge.

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

BRASOV APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Marin Nedelcu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Brasov County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 89, 10 Nov 83 p 4]

SUMMERTIME REGULATION--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that paragraph 3 of the sole article in Decree No 190/1979 on setting the official dates for summertime in the Socialist Republic of Romania, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 49, 19 May 1979, is amended and will read as follows: "Beginning in 1984, in the Socialist Republic of Romania, official summertime will begin at zero hours of the last Sunday in March, which will become one o'clock, and will end at one o'clock on the last Sunday in September, which will become zero hours." [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 89, 10 Nov 83 p 2]

CSO: 2700/90

YUGOSLAVIA

SEVERITY OF 'CRISIS OF SOCIALISM' ARGUED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1305, 8 Nov 83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr Branko Pribicevic, professor of contemporary socialism in the Department for International Studies in the Schools for Political Science at Belgrade and Ljubljana Universities, by Zefirino Grasi: "Is Socialism Losing the Race[?]" ; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Today there is a greater need than ever for a good left in the world." These words of the Englishman Richard Clark, which were uttered in the Cavtat round-table discussion on "Marx, Marxism and the Contemporary World," signify quite clearly that world socialism has reached a new point where it must make a choice. Dr Branko Pribicevic, professor of contemporary socialism in the Department for International Studies in the Schools for Political Science at Belgrade and Ljubljana Universities, has spoken about the recent challenges of the present for our newspaper. For the last 8 years Dr Pribicevic's lectures on the phenomena of the West European left, the development of self-management and socialism in the East European countries has been heard by students of the European Center for Postgraduate Studies in Bologna as well.

[Question] Socialism has been a world process for a long time now. What are the most essential features of its development today?

[Answer] A man tends to judge his own time to be important and significant, and quite often even the most significant. This is an understandable subjective perception, a unique kind of temptation which the researcher also confronts. I am mindful of all this, but I would still be so bold as to say that the present moment is nevertheless one of the most important stages in the lengthy history of socialism. The historical development of socialism--like that of other social phenomena--is uneven by the nature of things. I think, however, that the history of socialism that is written at the end of this century and the beginning of the next century will look at precisely the present moment as the crucial time. The principal feature of this moment is that the socialist forces face numerous difficulties on what is truly a world scale, and quite often they face serious failures and indeed even defeat. There are grounds for thinking that present-day socialism faces a serious crisis.

Captive of a Past Time

[Question] What is the basis for setting up the hypothesis that socialism is now in a crisis?

[Answer] I think that the crisis of socialism today is much more serious than many which occurred earlier. The socialist forces have experienced numerous failures in almost all the most important sectors and in all latitudes, and they confront very difficult dilemmas which they are not managing to resolve. This is the essential difference from the past. Earlier they experienced failures on one side, but at some other point there were often new breakthroughs at the same time, so that there was a balance. That is not the case today. In any case, there are no very significant "compensations." Failures and difficulties are being confronted both by those socialist forces which are in power and also by those which are not, there have been failures both by communists and by socialists, and they have occurred both in the advanced and in the underdeveloped countries. The present crisis situation is therefore not only political in nature, but it is also very much bound up with conception and ideology.

[Question] What does that actually mean?

[Answer] Briefly stated, it means that many socialist forces, confronted by the major challenges of our time, very often have not been able to find answers, to construct a policy and strategy appropriate to the difficulties and tasks they confront. Having come up against many new situations, those forces have thus often been offering solutions, ways out, and answers suitable to times long in the past, and therefore those responses are, of course, not only inappropriate, but also ineffective. Let me mention only the efforts of the Social Democrats to solve the present structural crisis of the advanced Western economists while remaining within the framework of the Keynesian model, that is, its "enlightened" Social Democratic state-capitalist version. This part of the Social Democratic ideological arsenal did bring major results a quarter of a century ago--but no longer today. Much the same is true of the economic reforms undertaken by certain East European communist parties out of a desire to speed up and strengthen the existing economic potential. In so doing they were at the same time firmly bound by certain ideological postulates and systemic solutions which today have been altogether superseded. There were absolutely no results of any significance. We therefore have every basis for saying that in the world of socialism today there are many captives of a time which has been left far behind us.

[Question] Might one conclude from this that socialism also is in crisis as an idea, as a historical alternative?

[Answer] There are quite a few people who have hastened to draw precisely that conclusion. In bourgeois political theory in recent years a catchword has been launched which implies such a message. It is said, that is, that "capitalism is passing--socialism is not coming." What this means is that Marx was right when he pointed to the transient character of capitalism, that it is not the last stage in the development of society, but that he was not

right when he said that it would be replaced by socialism. Change, these theoreticians say, is coming, but the new thing will not be socialism, but some "other" or "third" thing. I feel that these assessments are altogether untenable, that they are much more an expression of the interests of the class and social milieux from which they come than the result of serious scientific reflections. However serious the present crisis in the world of socialism, there is no basis for the assertion that socialism has been "superseded" as an idea, as a historical alternative, that it is, then, in a crisis from which there is no way out. It is above all the organized socialist forces which in so many cases have failed in their historical responsibilities which are in crisis. Of course, these two propositions cannot be examined altogether separately, but neither can they be equated. The exhaustion of the ideological arsenals of the major socialist forces we have mentioned certainly does inflict a very direct hit on present prospects and the development of socialism in the world, but I do not see any reason why the present "exhausted batteries" might not be replenished tomorrow.

[Question] What are the present position, role and prospects of Western Social Democracy as one of the two most important groupings in international socialism?

[Answer] It also fits to a large extent in this assessment which I have already presented. Over the last 50 years or so Social Democracy has achieved major results in many countries. Today it has reached a crossroads. The policy and strategy which it followed for years is no longer purposive now, and that is the explanation of why the social democratic parties are experiencing serious failures for the first time in the past 50 years. One thinks of the British Labor Party, which until recently seemed as firm as a fortress, but recently it experienced its worst defeat in the elections since the 1920's. And then the failures of the Social Democrats in West Germany, in Scandinavia. This now coincides with the beginning of the economic crisis. The achievements of the French, Spanish and Greek socialists, nevertheless, are not full of compensation for the failures which these parties have experienced in the traditional bastions of Social Democracy. The position continues to be strong, but it certainly has been shaken. There are signs that that well known confidence and self-assurance they had until recently is gradually being lost. As I have said, the reasons lie above all in the fact that they had been quite late with the necessary changes in policy and strategy. On the other hand, one must assume that these parties will retain an important role in the years to come in the West European countries. The main reason for that is the deep roots of those parties in broad strata of the population. In addition, those on the left still have no serious rival, there is no real alternative.

[Question] What is happening with Eurocommunism?

[Answer] The Eurocommunist parties made a major change of direction some 10 years ago or so, when after all of 50 years they realized that they need to adapt their strategy to the conditions in which they are operating. This turnabout was certainly constructive. Unfortunately, in spite of the quite important changes which have taken place, the Eurocommunists have still

experienced failures in most countries. The Spanish communists have experienced defeat equivalent to a catastrophe, the French have had serious failures in the elections, and even the Italian party today has a smaller support with the electorate than in 1976. There are quite a few causes. The policy of detente is in crisis, and this has led to a serious exacerbation of relations between the blocs. I feel that whenever that happens, the Western communist parties are among the first to pay the price. This is understandable, since for almost 40 years they have been identified with what we might call the "other side," so that whenever the conflict deepens with the East, it is natural for the blame to be cast on those political forces which still figure as an ally of the other side, if not today, then at least yesterday. Another cause is the economic crisis. This might appear to be a kind of paradox, since at first it often seems that economic difficulties arouse in the people demands for more radical changes and turn it toward the left. However, the masses will turn to the left only if it manages to offer them a radical, but also realistic alternative. I think that in spite of all the efforts being made by the Eurocommunists over the last 7 or 8 years, they still have not managed to construct any sort of realistic strategy for the development of their own countries which would offer both a guarantee that the present rather large economic difficulties would be resolved, but also that at the same time the way would be opened up in the foreseeable future to quite radical social changes. There is no such overall strategy. The Eurocommunists are still much stronger and more convincing in criticizing the present system than in building the strategy for a radical social transformation. They are also much more convincing in stating what they are aiming at than what will happen. Internal dissensions are a third reason.

A Crisis of Unrealized Expectations

[Question] And the model of real socialism is today in crisis. Where do the causes lie?

[Answer] When I said that the forces of socialism in the world have entered a serious crisis, I was also thinking of the present moment in development of the East European socialist countries. In past decades they have had indubitable success in their economic development and then in providing various forms of social welfare, the minimum of social services, and education. In recent years, however, various shortcomings and difficulties have been manifested more and more. The crisis in Poland is Polish only in its proximate causes and in the circumstances which tended to make it break out in such a serious and dramatic way. In essence this is an expression of a broader phenomenon which can be called a crisis of the model of state socialism. That crisis was first manifested in the form of the crisis of the augmented, but unrealized expectations. There has been a very great increase in the gap between what the broadest strata of the people put forth and perceive as their legitimate rights, as natural needs and demands. I am not thinking here only of demands and needs of an economic nature. Those expectations truly have grown greatly in recent years, but at the same time the system obviously cannot satisfy them. There are more and more of those who are beginning to think that their unrealized demands and needs are gradually becoming entirely unrealizable, within the framework of the existing system, of course.

Another important source of growing resentment and tension lies in the shortcomings which have accompanied the development of those societies and were well known even earlier. In the domain of the political system various restrictions on political freedoms, on certain other democratic rights, as well as in the sphere of socialist morality, and then also in the ever more visible gap between the prevailing ideology and social practice. Shortcomings have now begun to manifest themselves ever more visibly in the economic sphere. Once again there is more and more talk about the inevitability of changes, indeed of quite large-scale reforms.

[Question] What has been achieved in that area, are there any significant results?

[Answer] They are right now on the threshold of a new or, let us say, second phase of the search for appropriate features of the system in the economic sphere. I say the "second phase" because the first wave of those searches occurred in the second half of the sixties and ended with the renunciation of such efforts. That mainly occurred because the ruling forces were not willing to give up certain key components of the model of state socialism, above all the highly centralized system of administration in which the state directly and all-inclusively makes the decisions about everything. It seems that an awareness is now beginning to grow that certain changes will nevertheless be necessary in order to at least mitigate somewhat, if not eliminate, the heavy fetters and blockages in the mechanism of the highly centralized state system of administration. Voices are especially being raised to point to the need for more independence on the part of the principal economic entities and greater interest on the part of every workingman in the conditions and results of his own labor. At the moment there are still no very decisive changes in that direction. There is an exception to some extent with Hungary, where in actuality they never altogether backed off from the explorations begun by the reform in the late sixties. There are interesting solutions to correct the truly very bad situation in agriculture. In almost all the countries they are undertaking to strengthen the small private plot as an important source of food. It is also interesting that an effort is being made within the framework of the existing collective forms of economic activity (the kolkhozes and cooperatives) to allot certain parcels of land individually or to groups of families for long-term use. Hungarian experience with so-called afternoon cooperative shifts is very interesting. This has to do with numerous groups of workers and engineers who after doing their work in the regular morning shift take over all the installations and continue production on their "own account." They, of course, cover all the costs themselves, including depreciation. According to certain estimates more than 200,000 people have become involved in these cooperative afternoon shifts. It is very interesting that as a rule these shifts at that time have noticeably higher productivity than in the morning hours, when the people are much more rested. To sum up, the explorations are still going on, but there are still no signs that there is a readiness for changes in the system.

[Question] How are the difficulties in which our society finds itself influencing socialism as a world process and the commitment to self-management?

[Answer] For several decades now Yugoslavia has been at the center of the most important events in international socialism. Never has a country with such limited economic and other potential, such a small country, had such a distinguished role even in international events in general. This is the first time in history that not only have important stimuli come from a country which a half a century ago was on the periphery of Europe, but even an altogether new conception of social transformation, which represents an alternative both to the traditional model of state socialism in the East as well as to the Western social democratic version, has taken shape. We are referring, of course, to the conception of self-management socialism. This kind of development for Yugoslavia, which until recently was also accompanied by important successes in economic development, has quite certainly been a source of stimuli and encouragement for democratic socialist forces in many countries. Today our rather serious economic crisis, a crisis that is not exclusively economic, is quite certainly having rather adverse consequences for our position in the world of socialism. If we had not been hit by such a serious crisis, today we would have opportunities, perhaps greater than ever before, to influence the course and possible outcome of the great searchings and discussions which have seized upon the socialist forces all over the world. The opponents of self-management, both those in the West and also those in the East, are more and more beginning to take advantage of our difficulties as proof that the conception of self-management has failed, that it has not met the test of time. Even our most vigorous verbal reputation of such judgments has no particularly great response. The only real way is to overcome the present difficulties as rapidly as possible and to show and prove in practice that we have come out of the crisis not by restricting self-management, but precisely the reverse--through the further development and real affirmation of self-management. At the same time, the force and value of the "Yugoslav example" should not be underestimated by any means through the coincidence of circumstances. Every one of our successes has gone beyond the borders of this country. Unfortunately, we should also assume that the opposite is equally true. Our failures can weaken the positions of advocates of self-management in other countries.

7045
CSO: 2800/121

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENES OPPOSE COMMON PROGRAM CORES IN EDUCATION

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by Bogo Grafenauer and Drago Jancar: "The Position of the Slovenian Literary Society on the Issues of the School System and the So-called Common Program Cores"]

[Text] At a special session held on 10 November 1983, regular members and associates of the Slovenian Literary Society discussed the issues of the school system and the common program cores. After preliminary reports and exhaustive discussions, they appointed a commission which summarized the positions expressed at the members' meeting.

The Slovenian Literary Society expresses great concern in regard to the issues which our school reforms raise for the school system in general and especially, in regard to the so-called common program cores. In regard to that particular issue, on the whole we support the position which was presented in the public discussions and which the social and political organizations have espoused. We support a basic school system for all of Yugoslavia, in which, we emphasize, the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia should arise from the national awareness of each people and each nationality separately. There must also be respect for the cultural and historical heritage of all ethnic communities. A common school system means standardized schools, common instruction and educational objectives and, as much as possible, coordinated basic teaching plans, but not the same contents of programs. In other words, unified educational objectives can also be achieved with dissimilar contents.

In the instructional and educational objectives which it has expressed, the school reform is leaning towards a one-sided view. It is constructed only on the nomenclature of professions, giving too little consideration to urgent requirements of general education. In particular, the needs for different courses of advanced study were not considered and were not even ascertained.

The school system must not be planned solely on the basis of the temporary and immediate interests of so-called "consumers," but on the long-term prospects of the Slovenian people in Europe and in the world. A high standard in this regard is all the more important since the smaller a nation is the more the implementation of the system depends on the quality of its work. In general education, we call attention to subjects which are of importance in the building

of the Slovenian national awareness and subjects which open up a view of the world and the historic roots from which we Slovenes have come. We find that in the whole series of school courses very little time is given to the Slovenian language and Slovenian literature. History has lost the position of a central sociological subject and, at the same time, the whole school system is an obstacle to the formation of a mature historical perspective and to achieving an understanding of the contemporary world. The restrictions on the study of foreign languages limit our knowledge of the world. The practically complete abolition of the Latin language cuts us off from European cultural tradition and our own cultural tradition. The practical nature of the modern school also endangers the development of thought on important subjects.

The whole situation has become aggravated by the issue of common cores, in regard to which there is a legitimate fear that they would introduce a higher average on lower standards and that they would abolish some forms of more demanding schools. The preparation of the common cores was merely mechanical, based on equal bureaucratic representation of eight units. The result expressed the inequality of Slovenes in the planning of programs on [Slovenian] literature compared to those in the Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian language. According to the planned regulations, we have, in essence, less time for literature in our mother tongue than we have in that area [Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian Literature]. These ratios appear in all components of artistic education, such as plastic arts and music. A concrete analysis of common program cores in these two subjects reveals not only an unequal representation in regard to quality but also a conceptual deficiency. The basic criteria for the history core (historical personalities, battles and countries) keep the plan in conservative forms.

The Slovenian Literary Society believes that the issue of common cores should be examined in its entirety, from beginning to end, and, at the same time, it emphasizes the need for an expeditious handling and resolution of all burning issues which arise in the school system.

As its contribution on this subject, the Literary Society will publish reports from the members' session in a future issue of GLASNIKA SM.

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